
BEATI PACIFICI.
REX FIDEI DEFENSOR
POTENTISSIMVS IACOBVS
GALLIÆ ET HIBERN
DG MAGNÆ BRITAN
Regna Iacobus
Henricus Rosas
Mouth not mine Anoynted
HONY SOIT QVI
MALYPENSE
The right
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THE HISTORY OF Great Britain,

BEING

THE LIFE AND REIGN OF

King JAMES THE FIRST,

RELATING

To what passed from his first Access to the Crown, till his Death.

By *ARTHUR WILSON*, Esq.

LONDON,

Printed for *Richard Lownds*, and are to be sold at the Sign of the *White Lion* near Saint *Paul's* little North-door. 1653.

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By MRPHR INLSSN, Mr.

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THE PROEME.

I Am not ignorant, or inſenſible, from what *Precipice*, and into what *Gulf* I am falling; not like one in a Dream, who ſtarts at the *horrour* of the *Object*, which his own *imagination* creates: But deeply affected with thoſe ſerious and real impreſſions, which *Time* and *Experience* (the two great *Luminaries* of *Reaſon*) have fixt upon me. Methinks I ſee the various, cloudy, and ſad diſtorted Fancies of theſe *Times*, (that flutter up and down betwixt the *Twi-light* of *Ignorance*, and *Self-conceitedneſs*) bandy themſelves againſt this *Work*; led on by *Prejudice*, which they muſter up, and gather together, haply from the *droſs* of thoſe *Fragments*, or *vapours* of *Story*, that (like crude, and undigeſted Matter) have ſomething tainted that precious *Order*, which *Truth* (the *Commandreſs* of the *Soul*) loves to appear, and be admired in. Making it a *Crime* even to name *Kings*; as if from that *Name* nothing could reſult, but ſuch dreadful *Apparitions* as would blaſt and throw an odious *tincture* upon them, to the defacing and beſmearing of *Virtue* and *Innocence*; when theſe will ſit *Triumphing* upon a *Throne*, in deſpight of

Envy, pleading their own *Cauſe*; the *Beams* of that *Majeſty* being too bright and ſplendid to be overcaſt with the *Mantle* of *Malice*, though *clouded* and interwoven with all the falſe *Pretences* ſhe can put on.

And yet I ſee no *Reaſon* why *Princes* (towring in the height of their own *Power*) ſhould think themſelves ſo far above ordinary *Mortals*, that their *Actions* are to be incomprehenſible. This is but a weakneſs, contracted in the high place they look down from, which makes all things beneath them ſeem little, yea very little to them. And though *Men* at ſo great a diſtance from them, are not able to diſcern every particular *Plume* that carries them about, yet their often *Circumgyrations*, and *Turnings*, are *Obvious*, many times ſtooping after a mean and inconſiderable *Quarry*: By which they ſhew, that they are carried up by the *Airy Body* of *Admiration*, and that thoſe groſs *Materials* which tend to their *Compoſition*, are as ſubject to diſtempered *Paſſions*, as the meaneſt of the *People*.

Yet as they live in a *Sphere* above others, if their *Minds* be ſuitable to that *Height*, if they aim more at *Piety* than *Policy*, if *Religion* be ſet up in their *Hearts* for her *Humbleneſs*, rather than her *Ornaments*, more for her *Beauty*, than *Bravery*, If *Mercy* and *Juſtice* (inſtead of *Wild Beaſts*) be Supporters of the Throne, and Enſigns of *Royalty*; If *Truth* in her plain *Attire* (*the loveliest Object of the Soul*) be not turned out of the *Preſence*, and her painted *Enemy* ſit perching under the Cloth of *Eſtate*; If *Vertue* and *Goodneſs* be venerated from an internal *Principle* in them, rather than the ſpecious outſide of them: Who will not admire, and reverence ſuch *Majeſty*? But when they ſhall ſo much debaſe that ſublime and ſupereminent *Region* they are placed in, and come down below that *Dignity*, to drive a Trade of petty things, thinking it a great *Conqueſt* to deceive; proteſting to do what they

they never intend, and intending what they rather ſhould proteſt againſt: To what low *Condition* do they bring themſelves?

We ſee all the *Motions* of *Superior Bodies*, in what excellent *Order* and *Perfection* they move; and if ſome *Exhalation* ſtarts up among them, from groſs and putrid *Matter*, whoſe *Courſe* is not yet known, what horrid trepidations bring they with them? and what *Prodigious Calamities* are they the *fore-runners* of? Yet they hold not that *Station* long, but blaze a little there, and then extinguiſh; and all that can be ſaid of them, is, That we know not for what miſchievous intent theſe *Meteors* did appear: Whereas the other *Celeſtial Bodies* beget no *wonder*, are no *Prodigies*, but keep a conſtant *Courſe* in their own *Spheres*, and are not contaminated with *things* below them, yet they retain a *Powerful Influence* over them. So *Princes* ſhould always ſhine in *Glory*, and a *Noble Soul*, that loaths to ſoyl it ſelf in ſordid things, is the true *ſplendor* of it. But when they grovel here for traſh and trumpery, and trade away that gallant ſtock of *Love* houſed in their *Peoples Hearts*, for ſome falſe *Coin*, minted by *Paſſion*, mutable *Affection*, or miſled *Reaſon*, they do degrade themſelves. And then the only difference betwixt a *King*, and a mean *Man*, is, That the one, by his Trade, coſens a few; the other a great many, but himſelf moſt.

Thus we can look up to things above us, eaſily diſcerning the Cracks and Flaws in Veſſels of the pureſt *Metal*, by that *luſtre* that comes from them; but if we caſt an impartial *Eye* into our own *Boſoms*, we may doubtleſs diſcover in our ſelves ſo much of *Human Frailty*, even of a groſſer *Nature*, that may make *Pity* the *Miſtriſs* of our *Paſſion*, rather than *Pride*, and mourn for our *own*, rather than glory in the *Miſcariages* of *Others*. *Shrouds* are the fitteſt *Ornaments* for

dead Bodies; and who will rip up *wounds* that *Time* hath cloſed? A little *Urn* will hold a great *Mans Aſhes*; and why ſhould we bedribble with our *Pens*, the *Duſt* that reſts there? there is now no fear that it will riſe, and fly upon our faces.

Hiſtories are like *Anatomies*, eſpecially when they reflect on *Perſons*: He muſt be a *skilful Artiſt*, that can diſſect a *Body* well. If *Ignorance* or *Malice* attempts to hack, hew, or beſpatter it, 'twill be moſt *inhuman* and *barbarous*; it muſt be done by a gentle hand, with *Authority* and *Knowledg*, leſt inſtead of diſcovering the *Similar Parts*, they mangle and deface them, and ſo diſſect and open only their own *follies*; When the true end of this diſſection, is, to ſhew the *ways* and *paſſages* of the *Body*, where *Obſtructions* have been, where *Diſeaſes* have bred, and by this *Pattern* learn to remove the accretion of bad *Humors*, and apply fitting *Remedies* for prevention of ſuch *Evils*: So *Hiſtory* muſt not cauteriſe, and ſlaſh with *Malice*, thoſe *Noble Parts*, the true end of whoſe diſcovery is to better *Mankind*. For *Examples* of baſeneſs, and unworthineſs, if truly and genuinely related, may deter and hinder the violent *Career* of ſuch as mind no other *happineſs* than what this *vapour* of *vain-glory* can contribute; and eſteem a good *Name* more among *men*, than acceptance with *God*. But yet in theſe *Relations*, ſome grains of *Human infirmity* muſt in reaſon be allowed to *Greatneſs*, becauſe they have the means to more *Temptations*. And though there are very many guilty, and many *Men* may juſtly ſuffer by the *Law*, yet there are but few allowed to be diſſected. Therefore he that is too raſh in the *Cenſure* of others, ſnatching *Reports* from the lips of *Fame*, and venting them for *Truths* (without ſome probability or knowledg to enlighten and direct) digs in the *Bowels* of another *Man*, and wounds himſelf.

But the *Metaphor* ſtill holds; for as the *diſſimilar* parts of the body, head, hands, feet, *&c.* are apparently known; and the *Similar* parts, as veins, ſinews, nerves, *&c.*

are easily discovered; so the *motions* and *operations* of the more secret and hidden parts are controverted, and hard to find out, as the *Circulation* of the Blood, *&c.* Yet we find the effects of it tend to life and preservation, the *end*; though there be some dispute in the *motion* or means to it. So in this *Work*; the chief part of what is written, is either apparently *known*, or easily *discovered*, and those things that never saw the *Light* yet, may be collected, and inferred, finding their *Operations* tend to one and the same end: For I expect all men will not be of my *mind*, and look to be *Anatomized* my self by the *Hand* of *Opinion* and blinded *Passion*, that strike at whatsoever comes cross to them. Yet this I will say boldly, I have made *Truth* my *aim*, and though I fly high, and may rove, I am sure not to *light* very far from the *Mark*.

For this *Piece* is not culled out of several *Authors*, of *intricate Opinions*, and different *Judgments*, as a confused, and ruffled *Skein*, where, with difficulty, an useful *Thread* may be pickt out, which *Livie* complains of, and wonders at in the *Authors* that *wrote* before him. But these like *Simples* were gathered as they sprung up in the *Garden* of the *Times* (where *Weeds* and *Flowers* grow together) with intention to compose something for the *Publick health*; for above thirty years before the Ingredients were mingled, in that long *Series* of *Time*, weighing every *Grain* and *Scruple*, that there might be a due proportion, and quantity as well as quality of them for the *Composition* of it; and this not only acted by a natural *Propensity*, but I may say the hand of *Providence* brought many things to my knowledg, that were not in my hopes or thoughts to procure. And I confess there are some things in it may seem bitter, and sharp to some, and though they be so, the *Body* many times requires such *Medicines*, to dispel and check the peccant *humours*, and I doubt not but it will do the more good to those that are distempered: But *sound* and *gallant Minds* have no need, and are above the *operations* of it. As *Titus Vespasian* said,

when

when one ſpake ill of him, *Ego cum nihil faciam dignum propter quod contumeliâ afficiar, mendacia nihil curo*; He was above falſe Reports, and if they were true, he had more reaſon to be angry with himſelf, than the *Relator*. The good Emperor *Theodoſius* commanded no man ſhould be puniſhed that ſpake againſt him; for what was ſpoken *lightly* was to be laught at, what *ſpightfully*, to be pardoned, what *angerly*, to be pittied; and if *truly*, he would thank him for it. Nor did I ever read, that *Tacitus* was blamed for perſonating *Tiberius* Diſſimulation, *Nero*'s Cruelty, *Seianus* Pride, *Livia*'s and *Meſſalina*'s Adulteries, nay, *Domitians* Tyranny and Baſeneſs, though he was his *Creature* advanced by him. But they that intend *Truth*, muſt take this *Counſel* of his, *Sed incorruptam fidem profeſſis, nec amore quiſquam, & ſine odio dicendus eſt*; they muſt write without the paſſions of *Love* or *Hate*. And I am ſure I have as little cauſe to be partial as *He*, though I have more to inlarge my ſelf in *Apology*, having more Adverſaries to incounter with; He living in (as he ſaith) *Rara temporum felicitate*, where *Men* might think what they pleaſed, and ſpeak what they thought; Whereas theſe *Times* are as full of perplexed and diſaſterous *Diviſions*, as the calamities of a *Civil War* (when the poyſon of *Malice* lies raging and foaming in mens breaſts, like the troubled *Sea* after a *Tempeſt*) can poſſibly produce. And this *Diſ-union* ſprings from that ſtock of *Pride* in us, when we put a greater valuation upon our *Opinions*, ſtampt, and made current by *Cuſtom*, than upon *Reaſon*, that *Regent* of the *Underſtanding*, that ſhould bring all things in obedience to it.

Nor can I diſcover all the *Contrivances* hatcht, and brooded in the ſecret corners of *Princes Councils*. All things are not revealed at a time. This *Ground-work* may ſerve for others to build on, and 'tis eaſier to add to a *Pattern* than to make *one*.

The *Jews*, to whom the *Oracles* of *Truth* were committed, calculated their *Times* and *Seaſons* by *Lunary motions*,

tions, the *Solar* were found out long after by *Pythagoras*, and now we have new apprehenſions inſerted by *Copernicus*, that may be as uſeful, tending to one time and end, though various ways. So by degrees, there may be greater *Diſcoveries* made, than is yet here related. And what is *doubtful*, give me leave with *Tacitus* only to touch at, who (ſpeaking of *Domitians* attempting to get the *Power* of the *German Army* under his command) ſaith, *Qua cogitatione Bellum adverſus Patrem cogitaverit, an opes, vireſque adverſus fratrem in incerto fuit.* Whether he intended *War* againſt his Father by it, or to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt his Brother, when time ſerved, is not certainly known; for who can dive into the *Abyſs* of Princes intentions? And in another place ſpeaking of *Domitian's* jugling with *Agricola*, *Sive verum iſtud, ſive ex ingenio Principis fictum ac compoſitum eſt.* Whether this were true, or ſurmiſed, probably, as correſpondent to the *Prince's* diſpoſition, I cannot affirm. Yet where he finds out his extravagancies (of Knowledg) he aſſerts them punctually. So ſome things in *Princes* actions may be left to conjecture, if there be any ingenuity in the *Declaration* of them. And I hope ſome will come after me, that will imbelliſh, and perfect the way with a more cunning and exquiſite hand, though I muſt confeſs I have done my beſt, dreſſing this *Story* with the beſt *Ornaments* I could, to intice, and allure the *Reader*, leaving out many long and tedious *Diſcourſes*, that often damp the *Spirits*, and make them *Loiterers*. And it were to be wiſhed, that *Philoſophy* had ſome intermixtures of *Hiſtory*; and that *Divinity* (the *Miſtris* of *Arts*) were temptingly adorned, that ſhe might intice her *Lovers* the more to obſerve her. The *Jeſuits* dreſs their *Morality* and *Hiſtory* with all the *Eloquence* they can, and cunningly mix and intermingle with it, the fine *Baits* of *Popiſh Theology*, for people to nibble on, hoping to gain them by ſuch tempting *Allurements*. And I am not of *Marcus Aurelius's* mind, that thankt *Ruſticus*, that by his example, he had given over the

the ſtudy of *Elegant*, and fine *Language*; unleſs he reflected upon ſuch crabbed pieces, as are interlarded with *huge luſhious* words, that give no good relliſh to the *ſenſe*, or ſuch high affected *ſtrains* (wherein words are crowded) that ſerve rather to amuſe than inform the *Underſtanding*. But *Elegancies* in expreſſion (though I am not able to reach them my ſelf) I admire in others, eſpecially if they run in a ſmooth Chanel, and keep that mediocrity that they overflow not the bank.

But while I am pleading for *Mediocrity*, I find my ſelf in a *Labyrinth* (betwixt too little *Pamphlets*, our *Kings Court*, and his *Kitchen*) and I know not by what *Clue* to avoid it. They are like two extremes, *Scylla*, and *Charybdis*, therefore to paſs by, and not be indangered by them, I will ſhape my *Courſe* in the *middle*, betwixt both, and *Truth* ſhall be my *Gale*: For I proteſt, without paſſion, I lean to no *Faction* or ſide; but ſet down plainly what my *Conſcience* and *Knowledg dictates* to me. Nor do I intend to aſperſe *Noble Families*; Where is there one (as that famous *Orator*, the Lord *Verulam*, ſaid) that like a fair *Pomegronate* hath not ſome *corrupted Cornel*? And may not that be pickt out from the reſt, but it muſt taint them all? And how can *Truth* be known, but by the good *ſavour* it leaves behind? *For a good Name is like a precious Oyntment*. Never any thing of *Hiſtory* ſhould be left to *Poſterity*, if men may not be ſpoken of when they are dead. And if their *Actions* be genuinely related, there will be an intermixture of Good and Bad, profeſſedly allowed, according to the good or ill *Comportment* of the perſon preſented (though, as I ſaid, tenderly to be dealt with) for *Man* is of no *Angelical nature*. But it is eaſie to daub over the fouleſt *Deformities*, and make them appear *Beautiful*: For as *Ulpian* ſaid of the *Laws* of his time, ſo I ſay of *Hiſtorical Relations*, *Nulla veritas ita diſerte ulla de re cavere poteſt, ut malitioſa calliditas locum fraudi non inveniat*. But this ſtirring of the *Waters*, is only to make the *Truth* leſs perſpicuous, when time ſhall ſettle them,

them, all things will appear clearly. *Records*, and publick *Actions*, within *Memory*, cannot ſink, though the *Dregs* and *muddy water* (thrown in to trouble them) may. But I will ſteer ſteady, and avoid them both, hoping to arrive at ſome happy *Port*, if I can paſs the *Shallows* of *Ignorance*, or *Rocks* of *Prejudice*, that lie in the *Way*.

THE

The Authors PIETURE drawn by Himself.

AS others *print their* Pictures, *I will place*
My Mind *in* Frontiſpiece, *plain as my* Face;
And every Line *that is here drawn, ſhall be*
To pencil out my Souls Phyſiognomy,
Which on a Radiant height *is fixt.* *My* Brow
Frowns *not for theſe* Miſcarriages *below,*
Unleſs I mean to limit, *and* confine,
Th' Almighty Wiſdom *to conceits of* mine.
Yet have no envious Eyes againſt the Crown,
Nor did I ſtrive to pull the Mitre *down;*
Both may be good; But when Heads *ſwell, men ſay,*
The reſt of the poor Members *pine away,*
Like Ricket-Bodies, *upwards over-grown,*
Which is no wholſome Conſtitution.
The grave mild Presbyter *I could admit,*
And am no Foe *to th'* Independent *yet;*
For I have levell'd *my intents to be*
Subſervient unto Reaſon's Soveraignty;
And none of theſe State-Paſſions *e'r ſhall riſe*
Within my Brain, *to rule, and tyrannize:*
For by Truth's *ſacred* Lamp (*which I admire:*)
My Zeal *is kindled, not* Fanatick fire.
But I'll avoid thoſe vapours, *whoſe ſwoln* ſpight,
And foaming Poyſon, *would put out this* light.
Vain Fuellers! *they think* (*who doth not know it*)
Their light's *above't, becauſe their* walk's *below it.*
Such blazing Lights *like* Exhalations *climb,*
Then fall, and their beſt matter proves but ſlime:
For where conceited Goodneſs *finds no want,*
Their Holineſs *becomes* Luxuriant.
Now my great trouble is, that I have ſhown
Other mens faults, with ſo many of my own;
And all my care *ſhall be, to ſhake off quite*
The Old Mans *load, for him whoſe* burthen's *light,*
And grow to a full ſtature, *till I be*
Form'd like to Chriſt, *or* Chriſt *be form'd in* me.
Such Pieces *are* Grav'n *by a* Hand Divine.
For which, I'l give my God *this* Heart *of* mine.

Contemnit linguas vita probanda malas.



ELIZABETHA REGINA.

Lo heare her Type who was of Late,
Spaines foile, faiths, sheild & of state queene
In breife of women neere was seene
So great a Prince so good a queene.

Are to be sould bi Roger Daniell at the angell in lumbard Straete

THE LIFE & REIGN OF JAMES THE FIRST KING OF Great Britain.

THE various hand of *Time* began now to *ſheath the Sword of War*, that had been long diſputing the Controverſie, which *Religion* and *Policy* (that *Princes* mix together) had for many years ſo fiercely maintained. The wearing out of that old, but glorious, and moſt happy *Piece* of *Soveraignty*, the late *Queen*, bating the *Spaniſh* Violence, and ending with the *Iriſh-Rebellion*, and ſubmiſſion of *Tirone*, as if the *old Genius* of *Iron-handed-War* were departed, and a *New* one Crowned with a *Palm of Peace*, had taken poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh Nation*; *James* the ſixth, King of *Scotland*, was proclaimed King of *England*. For though *Princes* that find here a *Mortal Felicity*, love not the noiſe of a *Succeſſor* in their life-time, yet they are willing (for the *Peace* of their people) to have *One*, when they can hear no more of it. That which the *Queen* could not indure from others, *She* was well pleaſed to expreſs her ſelf, and bequeath in *her laſt Will*, as a Legacy to this, then *Happy Nation*. He was thirty ſix years of *Age* when he came to the *Crown*. How dangerous the paſſage had been from his very *Infancy* to his *Middle Age*, is not only written in many *Hiſtories*, but the untamed and untractable *Spirits* of moſt of that *Nation*, are a ſufficient *Witneſs* and *Record*.

An. Reg. 1.

An. Chriſti 1603

An. Reg. 1.

An. Christi 1603.

The wise *Queen* found many petty Titles, but none of that *Power*; any other Hand that should have reacht for the *Crown*, might a caught a *Cloud of Confusion*; and those *Supporters*, and *Props*, that held up her *Greatness* (loth to submit to *Equals*) made *Scaffolds* to his *Triumphs*. In the Wane, or last Quarter of the late *Queen*, the *Court Motions* tended (by an Oblique *Aspect*) towards this Northern *Star*, and some of her great *Council* in her *Presence*, would glance at the King of *Scots* as her *Successor*, which would make her break into *Passion*, saying, Was this imputed to *Essex* as a *Crime*, and is it less in you? Yea, *Cecil* himself, held his *Correspondencies*, which he was once like to be trapt in. For the *Queen* taking the Air upon *Black-Heath* by *Greenwich*, a Post summoned her to enquire from what Quarter his business came, and hearing from *Scotland*, She staid her Coach to receive the *Pacquet*; but the *Secretary*, Sir *Robert Cecil*, (being in the Coach with Her) fearful, that some of his secret Conveyances might be discovered, having an active Wit, calls for a knife suddainly to open it, lest put offs, and delays, might beget *Suspition*, and when he came to cut it, he told the *Queen*, it looked, and smelt ill-favouredly, coming out of many nasty *Budgets*, and was fit to be opened, and aired before She saw it; which reason meeting with her disaffection to ill *Scents*, hindred her smelling out his underhand Contrivances.

Secretary *Cecil* Proclaimed King *James*.

But now he may do it openly, for he was the first that publickly read, and proclaimed the late *Queens* Will; Posts are sent in hast, yet in so calm and quiet a manner, as if the loss of so pretious a *Mistris* had stupified the people. And now the Great-ones strive who shall be most *Obsequious*, and Court their *Happy Hopes*. That *Party* that had been *Opposite* to the late *Earl of Essex* (whose *death* as some thought shortned the *Queens* life) strove to ingratiate themselves, by suppressing them, that had any *Relation* to him, assuring the King (that always counted him his *Martyr*) that he aimed at the *Crown* himself, and *Princes* apt to be jealous soon take such impressions. And now I have stirr'd the *Ashes* of great *Essex*, I must revive his *memory* with this short *Character*; for *Reports* flying upon the *Airy* wing of the *Times*, have variously exalted, or depressed him, as the *Serene* for him, or the *cloudy fancy* against him, waved up and down. *He had a Gallant and Noble Spirit, full of Urbanity and innate Courtesie, which too much took the Popular Eye*, and being a great ingrosser of *Fame*, it procured him many *Enemies*, which made his Spirit boil into *passion*, and that was more suitable to his Enemies Designs than his own, for they lighted their candle by his fire, and this heat being blown by some fiery Spirits about him, gave to the *goodness* of his *Nature*, *a tincture of Revenge*, which his Enemies made reflect upon the *Queen*, so that

PLATE X



1



1

2





3



3

4





5



5

FRAN·PERRY DEL·ET SCVLP·



Basquet.

THOMAS HOWARD EARL OF SUFFOLK.

From a Rare Print

In the Coll.n of Alex.r Hendras Sutherland Esq.r

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that the Coal he ſtrove to bring to burn his Enemies Neſts, kindled his own Funeral Pile.

But our King coming through the *North*, (Banquetting and Feaſting by the way) the applauſe of the people in ſo obſequious and ſubmiſſive a manner (ſtill admiring *Change*) was checkt by an honeſt plain *Scotſman* (unuſed to hear ſuch humble Acclamations) with a *Prophetical expreſſion*; *This people will ſpoil a gud King*. The King as unuſed, ſo tired with *Multitudes*, eſpecially in his *Hunting* (which he did as he went) cauſed an inhibition to be publiſhed, to reſtrain the people from *hunting him*. Happily being fearful of ſo great a *Concourſe*, as this *Novelty* produced, the old *Hatred* betwixt the *Borderers* not yet forgotten, might make him apprehend it to be of a greater extent: though it was generally imputed to a deſire of enjoying his *Recreations* without interruption.

The King comes to *Theobalds*.

At *Theobalds*, Secretary *Cecil*'s Houſe, the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, the Lord *Buckhurſt* Treaſurer, the Earl of *Notingham* Admiral, and others of the *Council* to the deceaſed *Queen*, met him; and they with him found the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marr*, the Lord *Hume*, and the Lord *Kinloſs*. Theſe with others were made of his Privy-Council. The *Biſhops* forgot not to ſtrengthen themſelves, and their *Party*, againſt their *oppoſites*, the *Non-Conformiſts*, who had gotten new *courage* upon their *hopes* of the Kings compliance with them, and the King to pleaſe both ſides, went in a ſmooth way betwixt them, at firſt, not leaving out the third *Party*, the *Popiſh*, the moſt dangerous, whom he cloſed with alſo, by entertaining into his *Councils* the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Henry Howard*, the one Son, the other Brother to the late Duke of *Norfolk*, who would have been his Father, but became a Sufferer for his Mother: The one a *plain-hearted man*, the other of a *ſubtile* and fine Wit, of great Reading and Knowledg, excellent for outward *Courtſhip*, famous for ſecret Inſinuation, and cunning *Flattery*; the firſt a *ſuſpected*, (though it was otherwiſe) the laſt a known *Papiſt*, bred up ſo from his *Infancy*, yet then converted (as he pretended) by the King, being the cloſeſt way to work his *own ends*. On theſe he heaped *Honours*, making the Son Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Brother Earl of *Northampton*. And this *Gentleneſs* of the King to the *Popiſh* party, was ſo pleaſant to them, that they ſuckt in the ſweet hopes of alteration in *Religion*, and drunk ſo deep thereof, that they were almoſt intoxicated.

Changes beget hopes.

Now every man that had but a *Spark* of *Hope*, ſtruck fire to light himſelf in the way to Advancement, though it were to the *Conſumption* both of his *Eſtate* and *Being*. The *Court* being a kind of *Lottery*, where men that venture much may draw a Blank, and ſuch as have little may get the Prize. Thoſe whoſe

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Hopes were almoſt quenched, like Water caſt upon Lime, burn inward till it breaks out into Flame; ſo hard it is for uncompoſed *Spirits* (miſſing their aims) to ſettle upon the *Baſis* of ſolid *Reaſon*. The Earl of *Southampton*, covered long with the *Aſhes* of great *Eſſex* his *Ruins*, was ſent for from the Tower, and the King lookt upon him with a ſmiling *countenance*, though diſpleaſing happily to the new Baron of *Eſſingden*, Sir *Robert Cecil*; yet it was much more to the Lords, *Cobham* and *Grey*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who were forbidden their attendance. This damp upon them, being *Spirits* full of *acrimony*, made them break into Murmur, then into Conſpiracy, aſſociating themſelves with two *Romiſh Prieſts* (men that could not live upon lingring Hopes) and other diſcontented perſons, which every *Change* produces. The ground of the Deſign was to ſet up the Lady *Arabella* (a Branch ſprung from the ſame *Stem* by another Line) and to alter *Religion* and *Government*; diſpoſing already to themſelves the principal places of *Honour* and *Profit*. The Lord *Grey* ſhould get leave to tranſport two thouſand men into *Holland*, with whom he ſhould ſeiſe upon the King and Prince; Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was to treat with Count *Arembergh* for procuring of Moneys, and *Cobham* to go to the *Arch-Duke* and the King of *Spain*, to perſwade their Aſſiſtance. This *Embrion* proved abortive, and they brought their Plea to excuſe their attempting it, as compleat a One; *That the King was not yet crowned.* The Arraignment was at *Wincheſter*, where ſtrong proofs meeting weak denyals, they with others were found guilty of *High Treaſon*. *George Brook*, the Lord *Cobham*'s Brother, and the two *Prieſts* ſuffered for it, the reſt found *Mercy*; the King being loth to ſoil the firſt ſteps to his Crown with more blood. But their Pardon carried them to the Tower, where the Lord *Grey* ſome years after dyed, and in his Death extinguiſhed his Family. The Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Griffin Markham*, and others, diſcharged of impriſonment, lived miſerable and poor; *Cobham* at home, and the reſt abroad. And *Rawleigh* while he was a Priſoner, having the *Idea* of the *World* in his *contemplation*, brought it to ſome perfection, in his excellent and incomparable *Hiſtory*, but when Liberty turned it to Action, it taught him to roam, ſo, as the event proved *fatal* to him.

A Conſpiracy againſt the King.

A cenſure upon it.

This *Conſpiracy* put on ſuch a face, that few or none could diſcover, or know what to make of it: That the muddy waters were ſtirr'd, was apparent, but it was with ſuch a *mixture*, that little could be viſible in it. The Lord *Grey*, *Cobham*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh* were *Proteſtants*, why ſhould they ſtrive to alter *Religion*, though the *Prieſts*, *Markham*, *Brainham*, and others might? But it ſeems they joyned together in a *Politick* way, every one intending his own ends; Diſcontent being the Ground-work, upon which they built this ſlight Superſtructure,

A great miſchiefe intended to the Kings Majeſtie *at his firſt entrance into the Kingdome of* England *before his Coronation*; Watſon *&* Clark *Prieſts adminiſtring Oaths of ſecreſie and applauding the project. It came to nothing by Gods mercy. The* Kings Majeſties *clemency towards the Conſpiratours after judgment paſt upon them. No treaſon in* England *attempted but had a* Romiſh *Prieſt in the practiſe.*



Watſon Seducing Noblemen.

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perſtructure, that being hudled together, could not ſtand long. *Rawleigh*'s greateſt Accuſer was a Letter of *Cobhams*, which ſome ſay after he denyed to be his hand. Some of the Conſpirators (it may be) deſired to ſeem *formidable*, venting their Anger ſo for being ſlighted; others ſtrove to make themſelves ſo, that they might have the glory of enlarging the *Roman Power*, and they joyned together, thinking their *ſingle ſtrength* would not prevail. In this *Cloud* looking for *Juno*, they begot a *Monſter*, which having neither *head* nor *foot*, ſome part lived, the other dyed.

While theſe were provoked with *Neglects*, others were incouraged with *Favours*: Many of the Gentry that came out of *Scotland*, with the King, were advanced to Honours, as well as thoſe he found here, to ſhew the *Northern* ſoyl as fruitful that way as the *Southern*; But Knights ſwarmed in every corner; the *Sword* ranged about, and men bowed in obedience to it, more in *Peace* than in *War*; this Airy Title blew up many a fair Eſtate. The *Scots* naturally, by long converſe, affecting the *French Vanity*, drew on a Garb of Gallantry (meeting with a plentiful ſoyl, and an open-handed Prince) The *Engliſh*, excellent for imitation, loth to be exceeded in their own Country, maintained their follies at their own charge. All this came accompanied with a great *Plague*, which hapned this year in *London*, whereof above thirty thouſand dyed; Yet who will not venture for a Crown? For in the heat of it, on the five and twentieth of *July*, being the day dedicated to Saint *James*, the King, with his Wife Queen *Anne*, were both crowned at *Weſtminſter*, fulfilling that old Prophecy, or rather Fancy, current among the *Scots* (as they report) before *Edward* the firſt brought the Royal Chair out of *Scotland*, with the Stone in it, and placed it at *Weſtminſter* to Crown our Kings in. Which Stone ſome old *Saws* deliver to be the ſame that *Jacob* reſted his head on.

The King and Queen Crowned.

Ni fallat Fatum
Scoti *hunc quocunque locatum*
Inveniunt lapidem,
Regnare tenentur ibidem.

Engliſhed.

Fate hath deſign'd,
That whereſoe'r this Stone
The *Scots* ſhall find,
There they ſhall hold the Throne.

But how the Stream of Time runs through the Chanel of theſe Prophetical Fancies, experience ſhews: For 'tis true, if the

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the *Scots* came ſo near the *Throne*, as to enjoy the *Stone*, or Chair where the Engliſh Kings are Inaugurated, they may hold the *Crown*. But being only grounded upon Conjecture, theſe Conceits are commonly made up before they are half moulded, or like Abortives, are ſhaped after they are born.

When theſe Ceremonies were paſt, the King retired from this croud of Infection, gave ſome admiſſion to Ambaſſadors, that from all the neighbouring Princes and States came to congratulate his *happy Inauguration*: For beſides the *ordinary Ceremony* among Princes, their Reaſon might tell them, that if his Predeceſſors were able to graple with the growing Monarchy of him that coveted to be *Univerſal*, and to aſſiſt and relieve her Neighbours and Confederates from his oppreſſion; He would be much more *formidable*, bringing with him, if nothing elſe, Bodies of men, Warlike and induſtrious, hardned with cold and labour, and active in the difficulteſt attempts (however of late, by what Divine Judgment I know not, utterly diſheartned) to be *Helpers*, who were formerly *Hinderers* to all the *Engliſh* Expeditions; ſo that in him they courted their own Conveniences: For certainly, if ever the *Engliſh Monarchy* were in its true Glory and Greatneſs, it was by this Union. But there is a Period ſet to all Empires.

Prince *Henry* made Knight of the Garter.

The Prince, a little before this, was inſtalled Knight of the *Garter*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the young Earl of *Eſſex*, were reſtored to the right of Blood and Inheritance; and Honours were conferred ſo thick, as if the King intended a new kind of Conqueſt, by a proceeding, that tended to their, and his own Ruin: For, to ſubdue the greatneſs of the Nobility (who formerly could ſweep ſuch a Party of People to them, with their long trains and dependencies, that they were able to graple with Kings) He by a multiplicity of them made them cheap and invalid in the Vulgar opinion; For nothing is more deſtructive to *Monarchy*, than leſſening the *Nobility*; upon their decline the *Commons* riſe, and *Anarchy* increaſes.

Tirone comes over.

And now the old *Iriſh* Rebel *Tirone* coming over (led by his Conqueror the Lord *Monjoy*) had not only Pardon, but Civilities, and all outward expreſſions to gain him; the edg of the Peoples hatred being abated by a Proclamation, that no man ſhould ſhew him the leaſt diſ-reſpect. The Lord *Monjoy*, as a reward for his good ſervice, was created Earl of *Devonſhire*. And having given way to Creations, they break in upon us like a Deluge. The King being an inexhauſtible Fountain of Honour, cannot be drained dry, when other means of gratifying his ſervants may fail. Thoſe he brought with him wanted means more than Honour, thoſe he found here wanted Honour more than Means; He could, and did ſupply both to exceſs. Sir *Robert Cecil*, the firſt *Engliſh* Trumpet that proclaimed him,

Noblemen created.


MOVNTIOY
HONORAT. D.
CO. DEVON BAR.
CAROL. BLVNT.
The
Right Honourable CHARLES BLVNT
Earle of Deuon Baron Mountioy
and Knight of the Garter.

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him was made Baron of *Eſſingdon*, and ſoon after Viſcount *Cranborn*, and Earl of *Salisbury*; Sir *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penſhurſt*, and not long after Viſcount *Liſle*; Sir *William Knowles* Baron of *Grayes*, Sir *Edward Wotton* Baron of *Morley*, Sir *Thomas Egerton* (Lord Chancellor) Baron of *Elſmere*, Sir *William Ruſſel* Baron of *Thornaugh*, Sir *Henry Grey* Baron of *Grobie*, Sir *John Petre* Baron of *Writtle*, Sir *John Harington* Baron of *Exton*, Sir *Henry D'Envers* Baron of *Dantſey*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard* Baron of *Gerrard Bromely*, Sir *Robert Spencer* Baron of *Worm-Leighton*. The Lord *Buckhurſt*, Lord Treaſurer, he made Earl of *Dorſet*, and his old Servant Sir *George Hume*, Earl of *Dunbar*. Theſe, with *Suffolk* and *Northampton*, were *Nobles* of the fineſt *metal*, and firſt *ſtamp*, and moſt of them he placed as *Jewels* about his *Throne*. But theſe were but as an *Eſſay*; for they after grew to ſuch a *Volume*, that ſome unhappy *fancy* paſted up a *Paſquil* in *Pauls*, wherein he pretended an *Art* to help weak *memories* to a competent knowledg of the *names* of the *Nobility*.

Reformation in the Church ſought for.

As the *Papiſt* was different from the *Proteſtant Religion* on one ſide, ſo was the *Puritan* (as they then called *pious* and *good men*) on the other; both which were active to attain their own *ends*; and the King had the command of *himſelf*, not bitterly to oppoſe, but gently to ſweeten their *hopes* for His: thinking himſelf unſecure betwixt them. The latter were now ſolicitous for a more clear *Reformation*. This the *Biſhops* oppoſed, as trenching too much upon them, and the King liſten'd to (having experience of it in *Scotland*) how much it had incroached upon Him: For He thought their diſſenting from the eſtabliſhed *Government* of the *Church*, was but to get that *Power* into a great many *mens* hands, which was now but in *one*, and that *one* had *dependance* upon him, with whom He might better grapple. The *Prelates* diſtilling this *Maxim* into the King, *No Biſhop, no Monarch*; ſo ſtrengthning the *Miter* by the ſame *Power* that upholds the *Crown*: Yet to ſatisfie the importunity, a Conference is appointed at *Hampton-Court*, where the *Biſhops Opponents*, Doctor *Reynolds*, Doctor *Sparks*, Mr. *Knewſtubs*, and Mr. *Chadderton*, men eminent in *Learning* and *Piety*, in themſelves, as well as in the *opinion* of the *people*, did deſire in the name of the reſt of their party, *That the Doctrine of the Church might be preſerved in Purity*; *That good and faithful Paſtors might be planted in all Churches*; *That Church-Government might be ſincerely adminiſtred*; *That the Book of Common-Prayer might be fitted to more increaſe of Godlineſs*. Out of ſome of theſe *Particulars*, they inſiſted upon the *Biſhops* power of *Confirmation*, which they would have every *Miniſter* capable of in his own Pariſh. They diſputed againſt the *Croſs* in *Baptiſm*, the *Ring* in *Marriage*, the *Surplice*, the *Oath ex officio*, and other things that ſtuck with them, which they *hoped* to get all purged away, becauſe the King was of a

Conference at *Hampton Court*.

Northern

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Northern conſtitution, where no ſuch things were practiſed, not yet having felt the Kings pulſe, whom the *Southern Air* of the *Biſhops* breaths had ſo wrought upon, that He himſelf anſwers moſt of their *Demands*: Sometimes gently, applying *Lenitives*, where he found Ingenuity (for he was *Learned* and *Eloquent*) other times *Corroſives*, telling them theſe *Oppoſitions* proceeded more from ſtubborneſs in *Opinion*, than tenderneſs of *Conſcience*; and ſo betwixt his *Arguments*, and Kingly *Authority*, menaced them to a Conformity, which proved a way of Silencing them for the preſent (and ſome of them were content to acquieſce for the future) and the King managed this *Diſcourſe* with ſuch power (which they expected not from him, and therefore more danted at) That *Whitgift* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* (though a holy, grave, and pious *man*) highly pleaſed with it, with a *ſugred bait* (which *Princes* are apt enough to ſwallow) ſaid, *He was verily perſwaded, that the King ſpake by the Spirit of God.* This *Conference* was on the fourteenth of *January*, and this good man *expired* the nine and twentieth of *February* following, in *David*'s fulneſs of *days*, leaving a Name like a ſweet perfume behind him. And *Bancroft*, a ſturdy piece, ſucceeded him, but not with the ſame *Spirit*; for what *Whitgift* ſtrove to do by Sweetneſs and Gentleneſs, *Bancroft* did perſevere in with Rigour and Severity. Thus the *Biſhops* having gotten the *Victory*, ſtrove to maintain it, and though not on the ſuddain, yet by degrees, they preſs ſo hard upon the *Non-conformiſts* (whom they held under the yoke of a *Law*) that many of them are forced to ſeek Foreign *Refuge*. They prevailed not only for themſelves here, but by their means (not long after) the King looked back into *Scotland*, and put the Keys there again into the *Biſhops* hands, unlocking the paſſage to the enjoyment of their Temporal *Eſtates*, which ſwel'd them ſo high, that in his Sons time, the *Women* of *Scotland* pulled them out of their tottering *ſeats*.

Arch-Biſhop *Whitgift* dies.

On the other ſide, the late *Conſpiracy* of *Cobham* and *Grey*, had ſo chilled the Kings blood, that he begins to take notice of the ſwarms of *Prieſts* that flockt into the Kingdom: For though the *Conſpirators* were of ſeveral *Religions*, yet in their correſpondence with Foreign *Princes*, *Religion* was the pretence. For in every alteration of Kingdoms, few are ſo modeſt but they will throw in the Hook of their vain *Hopes*, thinking to get ſomething in the troubled *Stream*. The *Jeſuits* were not ſlack (coming with the *Seal of the Fiſher*) in ſpreading their *Nets*; but a *Proclamation* broke through them. The King being contented to let them alone, till they came too near him, willing to comply rather than exaſperate; the ſafety of his own perſon, made him look to the ſafety of *Religion*; and to ſecure both, He found this the beſt *Remedy*, Declaring, to all the *World*, the cauſe of this *Reſtriction*.

'Having


VINCIT QVI
PATITVR.
OBIIT ANNO
ÆTATIS SVÆ 73

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A Proclamation against Jesuits.

'Having (after some time spent in setling the *Politick* affairs 'of this Realm) of late bestowed no small *labour* in composing 'certain Differences We found among Our *Clergy*, about *Rites* 'and *Ceremonies* heretofore established in this *Church* of *England*, 'and reduced the same to such an order and form, as We doubt 'not but every *spirit*, that is *led* only with *piety*, and not with '*humour*, should be therein *satisfied*; It appeared unto Us in de- 'bating these *Matters*, that a greater *Contagion* to Our *Religion* 'than could proceed from these *light differences*, was *eminent*, by 'persons, common Enemies to them both; namely, the great 'numbers of *Priests*, both *Seminaries* and *Jesuits*, abounding in 'this *Realm*, as well of such as were here before Our coming to 'the *Crown*, as of such as have resorted hither since, using their 'Functions and *Professions* with greater liberty than heretofore 'they durst have done; partly upon a vain *confidence* of some 'Innovation in *matters* of *Religion*, to be done by Us, which We 'never intended, nor gave any man cause to suspect, and part- 'ly from the assurance of Our general *Pardon*, granted accor- 'ding to the *Custom* of Our *Progenitors*, at Our *Coronation*, for 'offences past in the days of the *late Queen*, which *Pardons* many 'of the said *Priests* have procured under Our Great Seal, and 'holding themselves thereby free from *danger* of the *Laws*, do 'with great *audacity* exercise all offices of their *Profession*, both 'saying *Masses*, and perswading Our Subjects from the *Religion* 'established, reconciling them to the *Church* of *Rome*, and by 'consequence seducing them from their *Duty* and *Obedience* to 'Us. Wherefore We hold Our self obliged both in *Consequence* 'and *Wisdom*, to use all good means to keep Our *Subjects* from 'being affected with *superstitious Opinions*, which are not only 'pernicious to their own *souls*, but the ready way to corrupt 'their *Duty* and *Allegiance*; which cannot be any way so safely 'performed, as by keeping from them the Instruments of that '*infection*, which are *Priests* of all sorts, ordained in Foreign 'parts, by *Authority* prohibited by the *Laws* of the Land; con- 'cerning whom, therefore We have thought fit to publish to all 'Our Subjects this open *Declaration* of Our pleasure, *&c.* Will- 'ing and Commanding all manner of *Jesuits*, *Seminaries*, and 'other *Priests* whatsoever, having *Ordination* from any *Autho- 'rity* by the *Laws* of this *Realm* prohibited, to take notice that 'Our pleasure is, that they do before the nineteenth of *March* 'next, depart forth of Our *Realm* and *Dominions*. And to that 'purpose it shall be lawful for all Officers of Our *Ports*, to suffer 'the said *Priests* to depart into Foreign parts, between this and 'said nineteenth day of *March*: Admonishing and assuring 'all such *Jesuits*, *Seminaries*, and *Priests*, of what sort soever, 'that if any of them after the said time shall be taken within 'this *Realm*, or any of Our *Dominions*, or departing now

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'upon this Our pleasure signified, shall hereafter return into 'this Our *Realm*, or any of Our *Dominions* again, they shall be 'left to the penalty of the *Laws* here being in force concerning 'them, without hope of any *favour*, or remission from Us, *&c.* 'Which though, perhaps, it may appear to some a great *severi-* 'ty towards that *sort* of Our *Subjects*, yet doubt We not when 'it shall be considered with indifferent judgment, what cause 'hath moved Us to use this *Providence*, all men will justifie Us 'therein. For to whom is it unknown, into what peril Our '*Person* was like to be drawn, and Our *Realm* unto Confusion, 'not many Months since, by *Conspiracy?* First conceived by 'persons of that *sort*. Which when other *Princes* shall duly *ob-* 'serve, We assure Our selves they will no way conceive, that 'this alteration proceedeth from any *change* of *disposition*, but 'out of *providence* to prevent the *perils* otherwise inevitable; 'Considering their absolute *submission* to Foreign *Jurisdiction* at 'their first taking *Orders*, doth leave so conditional an authority 'to Kings over their Subjects, as the same *Power* by which they 'were made, may dispense at *pleasure*, with the *strictest* Bond of 'Loyalty and *Love*, between a King his People.

'Among which Foreign *Powers*, though We acknowledg Our 'self personally so much beholden to the *now Bishop* of *Rome*, 'for his kind Offices, and private temporal Carriages towards 'Us, in many things, as We shall be ever ready to requite the 'same towards him (as *Bishop* of *Rome*, in state and condition of 'a Secular *Prince*) Yet when we consider and observe the course 'and Clame of that *See*, We have no reason to imagine, that '*Princes* of Our *Religion* and *Profession*, can expect any assurance 'long to continue, unless it might be assented by *mediation* of 'other *Christian Princes*, that some good course might be taken '(by a general Council, free, and lawfully called) to pluck up 'those *Roots* of *Dangers*, and *Jealousies*, which arise about *Reli-* 'gion, as well between *Prince* and *Prince*, as between them and 'their *Subjects*, and to make it manifest, that no *State* or *Po-* 'tentate, either hath, or can challenge power to dispose of earth- 'ly Kingdoms or Monarchies, or to dispense with *Subjects obe-* 'dience to their *natural Soveraigns*: In which charitable *Action*, 'there is no *Prince* living that will be readier than We shall be 'to concur, even to the uttermost of Our *Power*, not only out 'of particular *disposition* to live peaceably with all *States* and 'Princes of *Christendom*, but because such a setled *Amity* might '(by an Union in *Religion*) be established among *Christian Princes*, 'as might enable Us all to resist the common Enemy.

'*Given at Our Palace at* Westminster *the two and twentieth day of* 'February, *in the first year of Our Reign*, &c.

This did something allay the *heat* and *hopes* of the *Jesuits*, and their *correspondents*, but it made way for dark, and more se-

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cret Contrivances, which afterwards they put in practice.

On the contrary, another *Proclamation* came out for *Uniformity* in *Religion* according to the Law eſtabliſhed, to reduce thoſe to Conformity that had not received ſatisfaction at the laſt Conference. The *Biſhops* thought themſelves unſecure, while ſo many *oppoſites* (unblameable in their *converſations*) by their Pens and Preaching gained upon the people, ſtriking at the very *Root* of *Hierarchy*, that it was a hard *Queſtion*, whether the *Jeſuits*, whoſe *Principles* would advance their *Greatneſs*, or theſe that would pluck it down, were moſt odious to them. And now *Proclamations* are the *activeſt Agents*, ſome go abroad to pleaſe the people, ſome the King. All *Monopolies* (like *diſeaſes*) that crept in, when the good *old Queen* had not ſtrength enough to keep them out, muſt be purged away, and ſuch *protections* as licentious *liberty* had granted to hinder *proceedings* in *Law*, muſt be taken off: *Saltpeter-men*, that will dig up any mans houſe by *authority* (where they are not well fee'd) muſt be reſtrained; and *Purveyors*, *Cart-takers*, and ſuch inſolent Officers as were grievances to the people, muſt be cryed down by Proclamation. A *Prince* that is invited, or comes newly to a Kingdom, muſt have his *Chariot* wheels ſmooth *ſhod*. And yet the liberty of Hunting muſt be forbidden, the Kings Game preſerved, and a ſtrict Proclamation threatens the diſobeyers. Indeed, take this Kings Reign from the beginning to the end, and you ſhall find Proclamations current Coin, and the people took them for good payment a great while, till the *multitude* of them leſſened their *valuation*.

A Proclamation for Uniformity.

The *Biſhops* could not be ſo wary, but ſome *Courtier* or other would commend a *Preacher* to the King, if they knew any of excellent *parts*, ſo that ſome preached before him that were averſe to the *Biſhops* ways. Among the reſt one Mr. *Burges*, an excellent Preacher, and a pious man, moderately touching upon the *Ceremonies*, ſaid, 'They were like the *Roman Senators* Glaſſes, which 'were not worth a mans life or livelihood: For (ſaith he) 'this *Senator* invited *Auguſtus Cæſar* to a Dinner, and as he was 'coming to the Feaſt, he heard a horrid *Out-cry*, and ſaw ſome 'company drawing a man after them, that made that noiſe: 'the Emperor demanded the cauſe of that violence; it was 'anſwered, their Maſter had condemned this man to the *Fiſh-ponds* for breaking a *Glaſs* which he ſet a high value and eſteem 'upon, *Cæſar* commanded a ſtay of the *Execution*, and when 'he came to the Houſe, he asked the *Senator*, *whether he had* '*Glaſſes worth a mans life*? Who anſwered (being a great *lover* 'of ſuch things) that he had *Glaſſes* he valued at the price of a '*Province*. Let me ſee them (ſaith *Auguſtus*) and he brought him 'up to a *room* well furniſhed. The *Emperor* ſaw them beautiful 'to the eye, but knew withal they might be the cauſe of much

A Sermon againſt Ceremonies.

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'*mischief*, therefore he broke them all, with this expression, '*Better all these perish than one man.* I will leave it (saith he) to your *Majesty* to apply. But the *Bishops* got this and some other things against him, by the end, and silenced him for venting any more such *comparisons*. So that for many years after he practised Physick, and grew an excellent Physician. But upon second considerations he was admitted again to Preach, retaining both his Piety and Integrity (though he writ a book for the moderate use of the *Ceremonies*) ending his days in a good *old age*, at *Sutton Cofeld* in *Warwick-shire*, after a journey into the *Palatinate*, as shall be expresst in its time.

The fifth of *August* made Holyday.

The fifth of *August* this year had a new title given to it. The Kings *Deliveries* in the *North* must resound here. Whether the *Gowries* attempted upon the Kings person, or the King on theirs, is variously reported. It may be, he retained something of his *Predecessor*, and great *Parent*, *Henry* the *seventh*, that made *Religion* give way to *Policy*, oftentimes cursing and thundring out the *Churches* fulminations against his own *Ministers*, that they might be received with the more intimate familiarity with his Foreign *Enemies*, for the better discovery of their *designs*. I will not say the *celebration* of this *Holy-day* had so much Prophaneness, for *Fame* may be a slanderer. But where there is a strength of *Policy*, there is often a power of *worldly* wisdom that manages, and sways it. The King forgot not the services there done him, or the secret contrivances acted for him; for *Erskin* and *Ramsey*, two of his then deliverers, were not long after rewarded with *wealth* and *honour*, the one made Earl of *Kellie*, the other Earl of *Holderness*,; the first, prime Gentleman of the *Bed-Chamber* to the King; and second got to his Bedfellow one of the prime *Beauties* of the Kingdom, daughter to *Robert* Earl of *Sussex*; and both of them had their *Masters* purse at command, yet in our time, the one died poor with many children, the other poor and childless.

The Kings first going abroad was privately to visit some of his *houses*; for *naturally* he did not *love* to be looked on, and those *formalities* of State, which set a *lustre* upon *Princes* in the peoples eyes, were but so many burthens to him: for his private *recreations* at home, and his *hunting* exercises abroad, both with the least disturbance were his delights. While he remained in the Tower, he took pleasure in baiting *Lions*, but when he came abroad, he was so troubled with *swarms*, that he feared to be baited by the *people*. And the *Parliament* now drawing on, which was summoned to be the nineteenth of *March*, The King, with the Queen and Prince, four days before, rode from the Tower to *Whitehall*; the City and Suburbs being one great *Pageant*, wherein he must give his ears leave to suck in their gilded *Oratory*, though never so *nauseous* to the *stomach*. He was not

The King and Queen ride through the City.

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not like his *Predecessor*, the late *Queen* of famous *memory*, that with a well-pleased affection met her peoples Acclamations, thinking most highly of her self, when she was born up on the *wings* of their *humble supplications*. He endured this *days* brunt with *patience*, being assured he should never have such another, and his *triumphal* riding to the *Parliament* that followed: But afterwards in his *publick* appearances (especially in his *sports*) the accesses of the people made him so impatient, that he often dispersed them with *frowns*, that we may not say with *curses*. So various are the *natures* of *Princes*, and their *actions* so remarkable, that he may pass for a good man, that will not pass for a good Prince.

The Speech he made to the *Parliament*, both *Houses* being met, and the *first*, cannot be waved, though it be somewhat *long*, and printed in his *own Works*; By the *crisis* and constitution of it, the temper of his *mind* may be discovered; For if ever he spake really to his *Parliament* it was then; And I shall not comment upon it: For I know *Princes* are made of those frail *Elements* that other men are, but this much I will say; He had strong abilities in some things, that did dignifie the *doer* of them, and in other things such *weaknesses*, as would have much advanced his *Wisdom* to have left undone. But if *worldly Greatness*, and *Glory*, may well make *Princes* more loth to leave them, than they that have less, we must give them some allowance of fear to lose them. The Speech was to this effect.

The Kings Speech to the Parliament.

'It did no sooner please God to lighten his hand, and relent 'the violence of his devouring *Angel* against the poor people of 'this City, but as soon I did resolve to call this *Parliament*, and 'that for three chief and principal *Reasons*. The first whereof 'is (and which of it self, although there were no *more*, is not only 'a sufficient, but a most full and necessary Ground and Reason 'for convening of this *Assembly*) the first *Reason*, I say, is, That 'you who are here present assembled to represent the Body of 'this whole Kingdom, and of all sorts of people within the 'same, may with your own ears hear, and that I out of my own 'mouth may deliver unto you the assurance of my due thank-'fulness for your so joyful and general applause, to the de-'claring and receiving of me in this *Seat* (which God by my '*Birth-right*, and lineal Descent had in the fulness of time pro-'vided for me) and that immediately after it pleased God to 'call your late *Soveraign* of famous *memory*, full of *days*, but 'fuller of immortal *Trophies* of *Honour*, out of this transitory 'life. Not that I am able to express by Words, or utter by Elo-'quence, the vive Image of my own inward thankfulness, but 'only that out of my own *mouth*, you may rest assured to ex-'pect that measure of thankfulness at my hands, which is ac-'cording to the infiniteness of your *deserts*, and to my incli-

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'nation, and ability, for requital of the same. *Shall I ever?* nay, 'can I ever be able, or rather so unable in *memory*, as to forget 'your unexpected readiness and alacrity, your ever memorable '*resolution*, and your most wonderful conjunction, and harmo-'ny of your hearts, in declaring and imbracing me as your un-'doubted, and lawful King and Governour? Or shall it ever 'be blotted out of my *mind*, how at my first entry into this 'Kingdom, the people of all sorts rid and ran, nay, rather, flew 'to meet me? Their eyes flaming nothing but sparkles of *af-'fection*, their mouths and tongues uttering nothing but *sounds* 'of *joy*; their hands, feet, and all the rest of their members, in 'their *gestures*, discovering a *passionate* longing, and earnestness 'to meet, and imbrace their new *Soveraign*. *Quid ergo retribu-'am?* Shall I allow in my self that which I could never bear 'with in another? No, I must plainly and freely confess here, 'in all your audiences, that I did ever *naturally* so far mislike 'a tongue too smooth, and diligent in paying their *Creditors*, 'with *lip-payment*, and verbal thanks, as I ever suspected that 'sort of people, meant not to pay their Debtors in more *sub-'stantial* sort of *coin*. And therefore for expressing of my thank-'fulness, I must resort unto the other two *Reasons* of my conve-'ning of this *Parliament*, by them in *action* to utter my thank-'fulness: Both the said *reasons* having but one ground, which 'is the deeds, whereby all the days of my life I am by Gods 'grace to express my said thankfulness unto you, but divided 'in this, That in the first of these two, mine *actions* of thanks 'are so inseparably conjoyned with my person, as they are in a 'manner become individually annexed to the same. In the o-'ther *reason*, mine *actions* are such, as I may either do them, or 'leave them undone, although by Gods grace I hope never to 'be weary of the doing them.

'As to the first, it is the *Blessings* which God hath in my *Person* 'bestowed upon you all, wherein I protest, I do more glory at 'the same for your *weal*, than for any particular respect of my 'own reputation, or advancement therein.

1. '*The first* then of these *Blessings*, which God hath joyntly 'with my person sent unto you, is *Outward Peace*; that is, Peace 'abroad with all Foreign *Neighbours*: For I thank God, I may 'justly say, that never since I was a King, I either received 'wrong of any other *Christian Prince or State*, or did wrong to 'any: I have ever, I praise God, yet kept *Peace* and Amity with 'all, which hath been so far tyed to my person, as at my coming 'here you are witnesses, I found the *State* imbarked in a great 'and tedious *War*, and only by mine arrival here, and by the '*Peace* in my *person*, is now *Amity* kept, where *War* was before, 'which is no small blessing to a *Christian* Common-wealth: For 'by *peace* abroad with their *neighbours* the Towns flourish, the

'Merchants

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'Merchants become rich, the Trade doth increaſe, and the 'People of all ſorts in the Land enjoy free Liberty to exerciſe 'themſelves in their ſeveral *vocations*, without peril or diſtur-'bance. Not that I think this *Outward peace* ſo unſeparably 'tied to my *Perſon*, as I dare aſſuredly promiſe to my ſelf, and 'to you, the certain continuance thereof; But thus far I can 'very well aſſure you, and in the Word of a King promiſe unto 'you, that I ſhall never give the firſt occaſion of the breach 'thereof, neither ſhall I ever be moved for any particular, or 'private *paſſion* of *mind*, to interrupt your *publick peace*, except 'I be forced thereunto, either for reparation of the *honour* of 'the Kingdom, or elſe by *neceſſity* for the weal and preſervation 'of the ſame: In which caſe, a ſecure and honourable *War* muſt 'be preferred before an unſecure and diſhonourable *peace*.

'Yet do I hope, by my experience of the by-paſt bleſſings of '*peace*, which God hath ſo long ever ſince my birth beſtowed 'upon me, that he will not be weary to continue the ſame, nor 'repent him of his *grace* towards me; transferring that *ſen-'tence* of King *Davids* upon his by-paſt Victories of *war*, to mine 'of *peace*; That that God who preſerved me from the devou-'ring jaws of the Bear, and of the Lion, and delivered them 'into my hand, ſhall now alſo grant me Victory over that un-'circumciſed *Philiſtine*.

2. 'But although outward *peace* be a great *bleſſing*, yet it is as 'far inferiour to *peace* within, as Civil Wars are more cruel 'and unnatural than Wars abroad. And therefore the ſecond 'great *bleſſing* that God hath with my Perſon ſent unto you, is 'Peace within, and that in a double form: Firſt, by my de-'deſcent lineally out of the loyns of *Henry* the ſeventh, is re-uni-'ted and confirmed in me the *Union* of the two *Princely Roſes* of 'the two Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, whereof that King of 'happy *memory* was the firſt *Uniter*, as he was alſo the firſt 'ground-layer of the other *peace* (The lamentable and miſera-'ble events, by the civil and bloody diſſenſion betwixt theſe 'two *Houſes*, was ſo great, and ſo late, as it need not be renew-'ed unto your *memories*) which as it was firſt ſetled and uni-'ted in *Him*, ſo it is now re-united and confirmed in *Me*; be-'ing juſtly and lineally deſcended, not only of that happy 'conjunction, but of both the Branches thereof in any Times 'before. But the Union of theſe two *Princely Houſes* is nothing 'comparable to the Union of the two ancient and famous 'Kingdoms, which is the other Inward peace annexed to my 'Perſon.

'And here I muſt crave your *patience* for a little ſpace, to 'give me leave to diſcourſe more particularly of the Benefits 'that do ariſe of that *Union* which is made in my blood, being 'a matter that belongeth moſt properly to me to ſpeak of, as

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'the *Head*, wherein that great *Body* is united. And first, if we 'were to look no higher than to *Natural* and *Physical Reasons*, we 'may easily be perswaded of the great Benefits that by this *U-* 'nion do redound to the whole Island: for if twenty thousand 'men be a strong *Army*, is not the double thereof, forty thou- 'sand, a stronger *Army*? If a Baron enricheth himself with 'double as many Lands as he had before, is he not double the 'greater? Nature teacheth *Us*, that *Mountains* are made of '*Motes*; and that at first, Kingdoms being divided, and every 'particular Town, or little Country (as Tyrants or Usurpers 'could obtain the possession of a Signory apart) many of these 'little Kingdoms are now in process of Time, by the *Ordi-* 'nance of God, joyned into great *Monarchies*, whereby they are 'become powerful within themselves, to defend themselves 'from all Outward invasions, and their *Head* and *Governour* 'thereby enabled to redeem them from Foreign Assaults, and 'punish private transgressions within. Do we not yet remember 'that this Kingdom was divided into seven little Kingdoms, 'besides *Wales*? And is it not now the stronger by their *Uni-* 'on? And hath not the *Union* of *Wales* to *England* added a 'greater strength thereto! Which though it was a great Prin- 'cipality, was nothing comparable, in greatness and power, to 'the antient and famous Kingdom of *Scotland*. But what shall 'we stick upon any Natural appearance, when it is manifest 'that *God* by his *Almighty Providence* hath pre-ordained it so to 'be? Hath not God first united these two Kingdoms, both in 'Language, and Religion, and similitude of Manners? Yea, 'hath he not made *Us* all in one Island, compassed with one 'Sea, and of it self by Nature so indivisible, as almost those 'that were borderers themselves on the late *Borders*, cannot 'distinguish, nor know, or discern their own *Limits*? These 'two Countries being separated neither by Sea, nor great Ri- 'ver, Mountain, nor other strength of *Nature*, but only by 'little small Brooks, or demolished little Walls, so as rather they 'were divided in apprehension, than in effect; and now in the 'end and fulness of time united, the right and title of both in 'my *Person*, alike lineally descended of both the *Crowns*, where- 'by it is now become a *little World* within it self, being in- 'trenched and fortified round about with a *natural*, and yet 'admirable strong Pond or Ditch, whereby all the former fears 'of this Nation are quite cut off: The other part of the Island 'being ever before now, not only the Place of Landing to all 'Strangers that were to make Invasion here, but likewise mo- 'ved by the Enemies of this *State*, by untimely Incursions to 'make inforced diversion from their *Conquests*, for defending 'themselves at home, and keeping sure their Back-door, as then 'it was called, which was the greatest hindrance and Let my

'Predecessors

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'Predeceſſors of this *Nation* ever had, in diſturbing them 'from their many famous and glorious Conqueſts abroad: '*What God hath conjoyned then, let no man ſeparate.* I am the '*Husband*, and all the whole Iſland is my lawful *Wife*; I am 'the *Head*, and it is my *Body*; I am the *Shepherd*, and it is my '*Flock*: I hope therefore no man will be ſo unreaſonable as to 'think that I, that am a *Chriſtian King* under the Goſpel, 'ſhould be a *Polygamiſt*, and *Husband* to two *Wives*; that I be-'ing the *Head*, ſhould have a divided and monſtrous *Body*; or 'that being the *Shepherd* of ſo fair a *Flock* (whoſe *Fold* hath 'no wall to fence it, but the four *Seas*) ſhould have my *Flock* 'parted in two. But as I am aſſured, that no honeſt *Subject*, 'of whatſoever degree, within my whole *Dominions*, is leſs 'glad of this joyful *Union*, than I am; ſo may the frivolous 'objection of any that would be hinderers of this *Work* (which 'God hath in my Perſon already eſtabliſhed) be eaſily anſwer-'ed; which can be none, except ſuch as are either blinded 'with *ignorance*, or elſe tranſported with *malice*, being unable 'to live in a well-governed Common-wealth, and only de-'lighting to fiſh in troubled waters: For if they would ſtand 'upon their *reputation*, and *privileges* of any of the King-'doms; I pray you, were not both the Kingdoms *Monar-'chies* from the beginning? And conſequently, could ever the '*Body* be counted without the *Head*, which was ever unſepara-'bly joyned thereunto? So that as the *honour* and *priviledges* 'of any of the Kingdoms could not be divided from their *So-'vereign*; ſo are they now confounded and joyned in my Per-'ſon, who am equal and alike kindly *Head* to both. When 'this Kingdom of *England* was divided into ſo many petty 'Kingdoms (as I told you before) one of them eat up another, 'till they were all united into *One*. And yet, can *Wiltſhire* or '*Devonſhire*, which were of the *Weſt-Saxons* (although their 'Kingdom was of longeſt durance, and did by Conqueſt over-'come divers of the reſt of the little Kingdoms) make Claim 'to Priority of place or Honour before *Suſſex*, *Eſſex*, or other '*Shires*, which were Conquered by them? And have *We* not 'the like *experience* in the Kingdom of *France*, being compo-'ſed of divers *Dutchies*, and one after another Conquered by 'the *Sword*? For even as little *Brooks* loſe their Names by run-'ning and falling into great *Rivers*, and the very name and me-'mory of great *Rivers* ſwallowed up in the *Ocean*: ſo by the 'conjunction of divers little Kingdoms into One, are all theſe 'private differences and queſtions ſwallowed up. And ſince 'the ſucceſs was happy of the *Saxon* Kingdoms Conquered by 'the *Spear* of *Bellona*; how much greater *reaſon* have *We* to ex-'pect a happy iſſue of this greater *Union*, which is only faſt-'ned and bound up by the *Wedding-Ring* of *Aſtrea*? And as

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'God hath made *Scotland* (the one half of this *Island*) to enjoy my 'birth, and the first and most imperfect half of my life; and you 'here to enjoy the perfect and last half thereof: so can I not think, 'that any would be so injurious to me, no not in their thoughts 'and wishes, as to cut asunder the one half of Me from the other. 'But in this matter I have far enough insisted, resting assured, 'that in your *hearts* and *minds* you all applaud this my Discourse.

3. 'Now although these *blessings* (before rehearsed) of inward, 'and outward *peace* be great: yet seeing that in all good things, 'a great part of their *goodness* and *estimation* is lost, if they have 'not appearance of perpetuity or long continuance; so hath it 'pleased *Almighty God* to accompany my person also with that 'favour, having healthful and hopeful Issue of my bod (where- 'of some are here present) for continuance and propagation of 'that undoubted *Right* which is in my person; under whom I 'doubt not but it will please God to prosper and continue for 'many years this *Union*, and all other blessings of inward and 'outward Peace, which I have brought with me.

4. 'But neither *peace* outward, nor *peace* inward, nor any other '*blessing* that can follow thereupon, nor appearance of the per- 'petuity thereof, by propagation in *posterity*, are but weak pil- 'lars, and rotten reeds to lead unto, if God doth not strengthen, 'and by the *staff* of his *blessing* make them durable; for in vain 'doth the *Watchman* watch the City, if the Lord be not the *prin- 'cipal* defence thereof; in vain doth the Builder build the house, 'if God give not the success; and in vain (as *Paul* saith) doth '*Paul* plant, and *Apollo* water, if God give not the increase: for 'all worldly *blessings* are but like swift passing shadows, fading 'flowers, or chaff blown before the wind, if by the profession of 'true *Religion*, and works according thereunto, God be not mo- 'ved to maintain and settle the *Thrones* of Princes. And although 'since mine *entry* into this Kingdom, I have both by meeting with 'divers of the *Ecclesiastical state*, and likewise by divers Procla- 'mations clearly declared my mind in *points* of *Religion*, yet do I 'not think it amiss in this so solemn an *Audience* to take occasion 'to discover somewhat of the secrets of my heart in that mat- 'ter. For I shall never (with Gods grace) be ashamed to make 'publick *profession* thereof upon all occasions, lest *God* should be 'ashamed of me before *Men* and *Angels*; especially lest at this 'time men might presume further upon the misknowledg of my 'meaning to trouble this *Parliament* than were convenient.

'At my first coming, although I found but one *Religion*, and 'that which by my self is professed, publickly allowed, and 'by the Law maintained; yet found I another sort of *Religion*, 'besides a private *Sect*, lurking within the bowels of this *Nation*. 'The first is the true *Religion*, which by me is professed, and by 'Law is established: The second is, the falsly called *Catholicks*,

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'but truly *Papiſts*: The third which I call a *Sect* rather than a 'Religion, is the *Puritans* and *Noveliſts*, who do not ſo far dif-'fer from us in *points* of *Religion*, as in their confuſed form of 'policy and *parity*, being ever diſcontented with the preſent *Go-'vernment*, and impatient to ſuffer any *ſuperiority*, which ma-'keth their *Sects* inſufferable in any well governed Common-'wealth. But as for my courſe towards them, I remit it to my 'Proclamations made upon that *ſubject*. And now for the *Pa-'piſts*, I muſt put a difference betwixt mine own private *pro-'feſſion* of my *ſalvation*, and my *politick* Government of the 'Realm for the weal and quietneſs thereof. As for my own pro-'feſſion, you have me your *head* now among you of the ſame 'Religion that the Body is of; As I am no ſtranger to you in 'Blood, no more am I a ſtranger to you in Faith, or in matters 'concerning the Houſe of God. And although this my profeſſi-'on be according to my education, wherein (I thank God) 'I ſuckt the milk of Gods Truth, with the milk of my Nurſe; 'yet I do here proteſt unto you, that I would never (for ſuch a 'conceit of *Conſtancy*, or other prejudicate *opinion*) have ſo 'firmly kept my firſt *profeſſion*, if I had not found it agreeable 'to all *reaſon*, and to the rule of my *conſcience*. But I was never 'violent, nor unreaſonable in my profeſſion: I acknowledg 'the *Roman Church* to be our *Mother Church*, although defiled 'with ſome infirmities and corruptions, as the *Jews* were, be-'fore they Crucified Chriſt. And as I am no enemy to the life 'of a ſick man, becauſe I would have his body purged of *ill* 'humours; no more am I an enemy to their *Church*, becauſe I 'would have them reform their *errors*, not wiſhing the down-'throwing of the Temple, but that it might be purged, and 'cleanſed from *corruption*: otherwiſe how can they wiſh us to 'enter, if their *houſe* be not firſt made clean? But as I would be 'lother to diſpenſe in the leaſt point of mine own *conſcience*, for 'any worldly reſpect, than the fooliſheſt *Preciſian* of them all, 'ſo would I be as ſorry to ſtreighten the *politick* Government 'of the bodies and minds of all my Subjects to my private 'Opinions: Nay, my mind was ever ſo free from perſecu-'tion, or inthralling of my Subjects in matters of *conſci-'ence*, as I hope thoſe of that *profeſſion* within this King-'dom have a proof ſince my coming, that I was ſo far from 'increaſing their *burthens* with *Reboboam*, as I have ſo much as 'either time, occaſion, or law could permit, lightned them. 'And even now at this time, have I been careful to reviſe and 'conſider deeply upon the Laws made againſt them, that ſome 'overture might be made to the preſent *Parliament* for clearing 'theſe Laws by *reaſon* (which is the *ſoul* of the *Law*) in caſe 'they have been in times paſt, further, or more rigorouſly ex-'tended by *Judges*, than the meaning of the *Law* was, or might

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'tend to the hurt as well of the Innocent as of the guilty per-'ſons. And as to the perſons of my Subjects which are of that '*profeſſion*, I muſt divide them into two ranks, *Clericks* and '*Laicks*: for the *Laicks*, I ever thought them far more excu-'ſable than the other ſort, becauſe their *Religion* containeth 'ſuch an ignorant, doubtful, and implicite kind of *Faith* 'grounded upon their *Church*, that except they do generally 'believe whatſoever their Teachers pleaſe to affirm, they can-'not be thought guilty of theſe particular Points of *Hereſies*, 'and *Corruptions*, which their Teachers ſo wilfully profeſs. 'And again, I muſt ſubdivide the *Laicks* into two *ranks*; which 'are, either quiet and well-minded men, peaceable *Subjects*, 'who either being old, retain their firſt drunk-in liquor, upon 'a certain ſhamefacedneſs to be thought curious, or change-'able: Or being yeung men, through evil *education*, have been 'nurſed and brought up upon ſuch *venom*, inſtead of wholſome '*nutriment*; And this ſort of People, I would be ſorry to pu-'niſh their *Bodies* for the *error* of their *minds*, the *reformation* 'whereof muſt only come of *God*, and the true *Spirit*. But the 'other *rank* of *Laicks*, who either through *curioſity*, affectation 'of *novelty*, or diſcontentment, have changed their Coats, on-'ly to be *factious*, ſtirrers of *ſedition*, and perturbers of the 'Common-wealth, this giveth a ground to Me (the *Magiſtrate*) 'to take better heed to their proceedings, and to correct their '*obſtinacy*.

'But for the *Clericks*, I muſt directly ſay and affirm, that as 'long as they maintain one ſpecial point of their *Doctrine*, and 'another of their *Practice*, they are no way ſufferable to remain 'in this Kingdom. The point of *Doctrine* is, that arrogant 'and ambitious *Supremacy* of their *Head* the *Pope*, whereby he 'not only claims to be *Spiritual Head* of all *Chriſtians*, but al-'ſo to have an *Imperial* Civil power over all *Kings* and *Empe-'rors*, dethroning and decrowning *Princes* with his foot as 'pleaſeth him, and diſpenſing and diſpoſing of all *Kingdoms* 'and *Empires* at his Appetite. The other Point which they ob-'ſerve, in continual Practice, is the *Aſſaſſinates* and *Murthers* of '*Kings*; thinking it no ſin, but rather a matter of ſalvation, to 'do all actions of *Rebellion* and *Hoſtility* againſt their *Natural* '*Soveraign Lord*, if he be once *curſed*, his *Subjects* diſcharged of 'their *Fidelity*, and his *Kingdom* given a *prey*, by that three-'Crowned *Monarch*, or rather *Monſter*, their *Head*. And in this 'Point I have no occaſion to ſpeak further here, ſaving that I 'could wiſh from my heart it would pleaſe God to make me 'one of the *Members* of ſuch a general *Chriſtian Union* in *Reli-'gion*, as (laying wilfulneſs aſide on both *hands*) we might 'meet in the midſt, which is the center, and perfection of all 'things. For if they would leave, and be aſhamed of ſuch new

'and



Exerit Hic Sanctos, viva sub imagine cultus
Ecce Senex: Vtinam fas sit et inde loqui:
Qui dum Zelus iners Boreali friget in Orbe,
Emicuit gelidis flamma coruſca plagis:
Chriſtiadæ nautæ, Mundi qui fluctuat vndis,
Erranti et dubio Stellæ Polaris adeſt.
Duplex cum Tibi sit Sanctorum Nomen Vtru
In vitam pariter conuenit, Alme, tuam.

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'and groſs Corruptions of theirs. as themſelves cannot main-
'tain, nor deny to be worthy of *Reformation*, I would for my
'own part be content to meet them in the Mid-way, ſo that all
'*Novelties* might be renounced on either ſide. For as my *Faith*
'is the *True*, *Ancient*, *Catholick* and *Apoſtolick Faith*, grounded
'upon the expreſs Word of *God*; ſo will I ever yield all *reve-*
'*rence* to *Antiquity*, in the Points of *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*: And by
'that means ſhall I ever, with Gods grace, keep my ſelf from
'either being an *Heretick* in *Faith*, or *Schiſmatick* in matters of
'*Policy*.

'But of one thing would I have the *Papiſts* of this Land to
'be admoniſhed, that they preſume not ſo much upon my *le-*
'*nity* (becauſe I would be loth to be thought a *Perſecutor*) as
'thereupon to think it *lawful* for them daily to increaſe their
'*number* and *ſtrength* in this Kingdom; whereby, if not in
'my time, at leaſt in the time of my *Poſterity*, they may be in
'hope to erect their *Religion* again. No, let them aſſure them-
'ſelves, that as I am a *Friend* to their *Perſons*, if they be good
'*Subjects*; ſo I am a vowed *Enemy*, and do denounce Mortal
'War to their *Errors*. And as I would be ſorry to be driven,
'by their ill behaviour, from the protection and conſervation
'of their *bodies* and *lives*; ſo will I never ceaſe, as far as I
'can, to tread down their *Errors*, and wrong *Opinions*. For I
'could not permit the increaſe and growing of their *Religion*,
'without betraying my ſelf, and my own *Conſcence*, and this
'whole Iſland, as well the part I am come from, as the part I
'remain in, in betraying their *Liberties*, and reducing them to
'the former *ſlaviſh yoke*, which both had caſt off before I came
'among them; as alſo the Liberty of the *Crown* in my *Poſteri-*
'*ty*, which I ſhould leave again under a new Slavery, being
'left free to me by my *Predeceſſors*. And therefore I would
'wiſh all good *Subjects* that are deceived with this Corruption,
'if they find any beginnings in themſelves of knowledg, and
'love to the truth, to foſter the ſame by all lawful means, and
'to beware of quenching the Spirit that worketh within them.
'And if they can find as yet no motion tending that way, to
'be ſtudious to read and confer with learned Men. and to uſe
'all ſuch means as may further their *Reſolution*; aſſuring them,
'that as long as they are diſconformable in Religion to us,
'they cannot be but half my *Subjects*, be able to do but half
'*ſervice*, and I ſhall want the beſt half of them, which is their
'*ſouls*.

'And here I have occaſion to ſpeak to you, my Lords the *Bi-*
'*ſhops*; for as you my Lord of *Durham*, ſaid very learnedly to
'day in your *Sermon*, *Correction without Inſtruction is but Ty-*
'*ranny*: So ought you, and all the Clergy under you, to be
more careful, vigilant and careful than you have been, to

Tobie Matthew.

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'win *souls* to God, as well by your exemplary *Life*, as *Doctrine*. 'And since you see how careful they are, sparing neither la- 'bour, pains, nor extreme peril of their Persons, to pervert, '(the *Devil* is so busie a *Bishop*;) ye should be the more careful, 'and wakeful in your Charges. Follow the Rule prescribed 'you by Saint *Paul*, *Be careful to exhort and instruct, in sea- 'son, and out of season*: And where you have been any way slug- 'gish before, now waken your selves up again with a new *di- 'ligence*, remitting the success to God, who calling them 'either at the second, third, tenth, or twelfth hour, as they are 'alike welcom to him, so shall they be to me his *Lieutenant* 'here.

'The third Reason of my Convening you at this time, 'which containeth such *Actions* of my Thankfulness towards 'you, as I may either do, or leave undone, yet shall, with 'Gods grace, ever press to perform all the days of my life. 'It consists in these two *Points*; In making of *Laws* at certain 'Times, which is only at such Times as this, in *Parliament*; 'or in the careful *Execution* of the *Laws* at other Times. As 'for the Making of them, I will thus far faithfully promise un- 'to you, that I will ever prefer the *Weal* of the *Body* above any 'particular or private ends of my *Own*, thinking ever the Weal 'of the Commonwealth to be the greatest Weal, and worldly 'felicity: A Point wherein a lawful King doth directly differ 'from a Tyrant. But at this time I am only thus far to forwarn 'you in that *Point*, that you beware to seek the making of too 'many *Laws*, for two especial *Reasons*; First, because *In corruptis- 'sima Republica plurima leges*; And the execution of some good 'Laws is far more profitable in a Common-wealth, than to 'burthen *mens memories* with making too many of them. And 'next, because the making of too many Laws in one *Parlia- 'ment*, will bring in Confusion, for want of leisure, wisely to 'deliberate before you conclude; for the *Bishop* said well to 'day, That to *Deliberation* a large time would be given, but 'to *Execution* a greater promptness was required. As for the 'Execution of good Law, it hath been very wisely and ho- 'nourably foreseen, and ordered by my Predecessors in this 'Kingdom, in planting such a number of *Judges*, and all sorts 'of *Magistrates*, in convenient places, for execution of the 'same. And therefore must I now turn to you that are *Judges*, 'and *Magistrates* under me, as mine Eyes and Ears in this case: 'I can say no otherwise to you, than as *Ezekias* the good King 'of *Juda* said to their *Judges*, *Remember that the Thrones you sit 'on are Gods, and neither yours nor mine.* And as you must be 'answerable to me, so must both *you* and *I* be answerable to 'God for the due Execution of *Our Offices.* That Place is no 'Place for you to utter your Affections in; you must not there

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'*hate* your *foe*, nor *love* your *friend*; fear the *offending* of the '*greater party*, or pity the *miſery* of the *meaner*; ye muſt be '*blind*, and not ſee diſtinctions of *Perſons*; *handleſs*, not to re-'ceive *Bribes*; but keep that juſt *Temper* and *Medium* in all 'your Proceedings, that like a juſt *Ballance*, ye may neither 'ſway to the right hand, nor to the left. Three principal '*Qualities* are required in you, *Knowledg*, *Courage*, and *Sincerity*; that you may diſcern with *Knowledg*, execute with *Cou-'rage*, and do both in *upright Sincerity*. And for my part, I 'do vow and proteſt here in the preſence of *God*, and of this '*Honourable Audience*, I never ſhall be weary, nor omit occaſion 'wherein I may ſhew my *carefulneſs* of the Execution of good '*Laws*: And as I wiſh you that are *Judges*, not to be weary in 'your Office, in doing of it; ſo ſhall I never be weary, with '*Gods grace*, to take account of you, which is properly my *cal-'ling*.

'And thus having told you the three cauſes of my Conve-'ning of this *Parliament*, all three tending only to utter my '*thankfulneſs*, but in divers *forms*; the firſt by *word*, the other 'two by *action*; I do confeſs, that when I have done, and per-'formed all that in this *Speech* I have promiſed, *Inutilis ſervus 'ſum*. When I have done all that I can for you, I do nothing 'but that which I am bound to do, and am accountable to 'God for the contrary. For the difference betwixt a Rightful 'King, and an Uſurping Tyrant, is this; That the proud and 'ambitious Tyrant doth think his *Kingdom* and *People* are ordai-'ned for ſatisfaction of his *deſires*, and unreaſonable *appetite*; 'The *righteous* and *juſt King* doth by the *contrary*, acknowledg 'himſelf to be ordained for procuring the *wealth* and *proſperity* 'of his *People*, and that his greateſt and principal *worldly felicity* 'muſt conſiſt in their *proſperity*: If you be rich, I cannot be poor; 'if you be happy, I cannot but be fortunate; and I proteſt, that 'your welfare ſhall ever be my greateſt care and contentment. 'And that I am a *Servant*, is moſt true; that as I am a *Head* and '*Governour* of all the People in my *Dominions*, who are my *Natu-'ral Vaſſals*, and *Subjects*, conſidering them in *numbers*, and diſtinct '*ranks*; So if we will take the People as one *Body* and *Maſs*, then 'as the *Head* is *ordained* for the *Body*, and not the *Body* for the '*Head*; ſo muſt a *righteous King* know himſelf to be ordained for 'his *People*, and not his *People* for *Him*: For although a *King* and 'his *People* be *Relata*, yet can he be no *King* if he want *People* and '*Subjects*. But there be many *People* in the *World* that lack a '*Head*; wherefore I will never be aſhamed to confeſs it my '*Principal Honour*, to be the great Servant of the Common-'wealth; and ever think the *Proſperity* thereof to be my greateſt '*felicity*, as I have already ſaid.

But

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'But as it was the whole Body of this Kingdom (with an 'uniform assent and harmony) which did so far oblige me, so 'is my thankfulness due to the whole *State*. For even as in 'Matter of *faults*, *Quod à multis peccatur, impunè peccatur*; even 'so in the Matter of *virtuous* and good *deeds*, which are done 'by the willing Consent and Harmony of the whole *Body*, no 'particular Person can justly claim thanks, as proper to him, 'for the same: And therefore I must here make a little *Apo-'logie* for my self, in that I could not satisfie the particular *hu-'mours* of every *Person* that looked for some Advancement or 'Reward at my hand, since my entry into this Kingdom. 'Three kinds of things were craved of me, *Advancement* to *ho-'nour*, *Preferment* to place of *Credit* about my *Person*, and *Re-'ward* in Matters of *Land* or *Profit*. If I had bestowed Ho-'nour upon all, no man could have been advanced to Honour; 'for the Degrees of Honour do consist in preferring some above 'their Fellows: If every man had the like access to my *Per-'son*, then no man could have it: and if I had bestowed Lands 'and Rewards upon every man, the *Fountain* of my *Liberality*, 'would have been so exhausted, as I should want Means to be 'liberal to any man. Yet was I not so sparing, but I may 'without Vaunting affirm, that I have enlarged my *favour* in 'all the three Degrees, towards as many and more, than ever 'King of *England* did, in so short a space. No, I rather crave 'your *pardon*, that I have been so bountiful: For if the *means* of 'the *Crown* be wasted, whither should I have recourse but to 'you my *Subjects*, and be burthensome to you? which I should 'be lothest to do of any King alive. Two special *Causes* mo-'ved me to be so open-handed, whereof the one was *reasonable* 'and *honourable*, but the other (I will not be ashamed to confess 'unto you) proceeded of my own *infirmity*. That which was 'Just and Honourable, was, that being so far beholden to the 'Body of the whole *State*, I thought I could not refuse to let 'some small *Brooks* run out of the *Fountain* of my Thankfulness 'to the whole, for refreshing of particular Persons, that were 'Members of that *Multitude*. The other which proceeded out of 'mine own Infirmity, was, the *Multitude* and importunity of 'Suters. But although *Reason* come by infusion in a manner, 'yet *Experience* groweth with time and labour: And therefore 'do I not doubt, but Experience will teach the particular *Sub-'jects* of this Kingdom, not to be so importune and undiscreet 'in craving; and Me not to be so easily and lightly moved, in 'granting that which may be *harmful* to my *Estate*, and conse-'quently to the whole Kingdom.

'And thus at length having declared unto you my mind, 'My Conclusion shall only now be, to excuse my Self, in case you 'have not found such *Eloquence* in my *Speech*, as peradventure you

'you might have looked for at my *hands*. I might alledg the 'great weight of my Affairs, and my continual *buſineſs*, and di-'ſtraction, that I could never have leiſure to think upon what 'I was to ſpeak; And I might alſo alledg, that my firſt *ſight* 'of this ſo Famous and Honourable an Aſſembly, might like-'wiſe breed ſome impediment: But leaving theſe excuſes, I 'will plainly, and freely, in my manner, tell you the true Cauſe 'of it; which is, That it becometh a King, in my opinion, to 'uſe no other *Eloquence* than plainneſs and ſincerity. By plain-'neſs, I mean, that his *Speeches* ſhould be ſo clear, and void of 'all ambiguity, that they may not be thrown, nor rent in ſun-'der, in contrary ſenſes, like the old *Oracles* of the *Pagan gods*: 'And by Sincerity, I underſtand, that *uprightneſs* and *honeſty* 'which ought to be in a Kings whole *Speeches*, and *Actions*; that 'as far as a *King* is in *Honour* erected above any of his *Subjects*, 'ſo far ſhould he ſtrive in *Sincerity* to be above them all, and 'that his *tongue* ſhould be ever the true *Meſſenger* of his *heart*. 'And this ſort of *Eloquence* you may ever aſſuredly look for at 'my *hands*.

Thus the *Beams* of *Majeſty* had an influence upon every branch and leaf of the Kingdom, by reflecting upon the *Root*, their *Repreſentative Body*; every particular expecting what fruit this *Sun-ſhine* would produce; ſtriving as much to inſinuate into *him*, as he did into the *general*, ſo that there was a Reciprocal *Harmony* between the King and the People, becauſe they *courted* one another. But when the Kings *Bounty* contracted it ſelf into private Favourites (as it did afterwards) beſtowing the affection he *promiſed* the whole people, upon one man; when the golden ſhowers they gaped for, dropt into ſome few chanels, their *paſſions* flew higher than their *hopes*. The Kings aims were, to unite the two Kingdoms, ſo that the one might *corroborate* the other, to make good that part of his Speech (by this intermixtion) wherein he divides *England* and *Scotland* into halves: But the *Engliſh* ſtumbled at that *partition*, thinking it an unequal *diviſion*, and fearing that the *Scots* (creeping into *Engliſh* Lordſhips, and *Engliſh* Ladies Beds, in both which already they began to be active) might quickly make their leaſt *half* the predominant part.

But he was Proclaimed King of Great *Britain*; *England* muſt be no more a Name; the *Scotiſh Coyns* are made currant, and our *Ships* muſt have Saint *Georges* and Saint *Andrews* Croſſes quartered together in their Flags; all outward *Enſigns* of *Amity*. But thoſe *Engliſh* that had ſuckt in none of the ſweets of this pleaſant Stream of *Bounty*, repined to ſee the *Scots* advanced from *blew Bonnets* to coſtly *Beavers*, wearing inſtead of *Wadmeal*, *Velvet* and *Satin*, as divers *Paſquils* written in that *Age Satyrically*

The King proclaimed King of great *Britain*.

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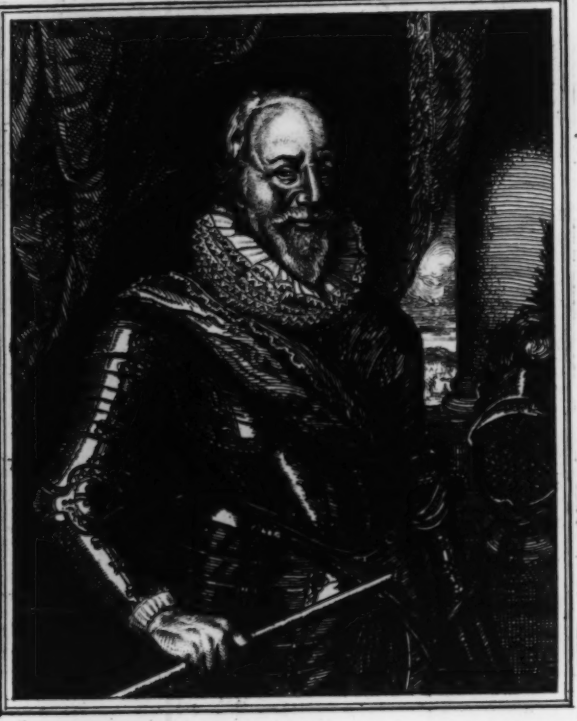
tyrically taunted at. Which is not set down here, to vilifie the *Scots* (being most of them Gentlemen that had deserved well of their *Master*) but to shew, how cross to the publick *Appetite* the *Hony-comb* is, that another man eats. But the King (like a wise *Pilot*) guided the *Helm* with so even an hand, that these small *gusts* were not felt. It behoved him to play his *Masterprize* in the Beginning, which he did to the *life*, for he had divers *opinions*, *humours* and *affections* to grapple with, as well as *Nations*, and 'tis a very *calm Sea* when no *billow* rises. The *Romanists* bogled, that he said in his *Speech*, They were unsufferable in the Kingdom, as long as they maintained the *Pope* to be their *Spiritual Head*, and He to have *power* to dethrone *Princes*. The *Separatists* (as the King called them) were offended at that Expression, wherein he professed willingly, if the *Papists* would lay down King-killing, and some other gross errors, he would be content to meet them half way. So that every one grounded his hopes, or his fears, upon the *shallows* of his own *fancy*, not knowng yet what course the King would steer. But these *sores* being tenderly dealt with, did not suddenly fester, but were skinned over. The King desirous of the Title, *Pacificus*, did not only close with his own *Subjects*, but healed up also that old wound that had bled long in the *sides* of *England* and *Spain*, both being weary of the pain, both willing to be cured. The King of *Spain* sent the Constable of *Castile* with a mighty Train of smooth-handed *Spaniards* to close up the wound on this side, where (the old Enmity being well *mortified*) they were received with singular Respect and Civility. The King of *England* sent his *High Admiral*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, with as splendid a *Retinue* of *English*, to close it on that: Who being *Personages* of Quality, accoutred with all *Ornaments* suitable, were the more admired by the *Spaniards* for beauty and excellency, by how much the *Jesuits* had made impressions in the *vulgar opinion*, That since the *English* left the *Roman Religion*, they were transformed into strange horrid *shapes*, with Heads and Tails like *Beasts* and *Monsters*. So easie it is for those *Jugglers*, when they have once bound up the *Conscience*, to tye up the *Understanding* also.

The King and Parliament in good accord.

But the *Parliament* highly admiring the Kings abilities, made a Recognition thereof with many *Elogies*, as the prime *Act* of their *humble submission* to his *Government*, wherein they yield their most humble thanks to the *Divine Majesty* for his access to the *Crown*; and they desire from their Hearts, that as a *Memorial* to all *Posterity* (among the *Records* of the High Court of *Parliament*, for ever to endure) it may be published and declared, that they acknowledg his Right of *Succession* to the Crown of *England*, and the Empire thereof; and thereunto they faithfully submit, and oblige themselves, their Heirs, and Posterities



EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.



GEORGE CAREW, EARL OF TOTNES.

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ties for ever, until the laſt drop of their *Bloods* be ſpent. So high mounted was the Affection of the People to the King! And happily might have continued ſo, if ſome after *Jealouſies* had not intervened, that like *Clouds*, hindred the *influence* of their more intimate Correſpondence.

Commiſſ. for an Union.

And to ſatisfie the *Kings* deſires about an *Union* betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, the *Parliament* made an *Act* to authoriſe certain Commiſſioners; *viz.* *Thomas* Lord *Elleſmere*, Lord Chancellor of *England*; *Thomas* Earl of *Dorſet*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*; *Charles* Earl of *Notingham*, Lord High Admiral of *England*; *Henry* Earl of *Southampton*, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Henry* Earl of *Northampton*, *Richard* Biſhop of *London*, *Tobie* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, *Anthony* Biſhop of Saint *Davids*; *Robert* Lord *Cecil*, Principal Secretary; *Edward* Lord *Zouch*, Lord Preſident of *Wales*; *William* Lord *Mounteagle*, *Ralph* Lord *Eure*; *Edmund* Lord *Sheffeild*, Lord Preſident of the Council in the *North*, Lords of the Higher Houſe of *Parliament*. And *Thomas* Lord *Clinton*, *Robert* Lord *Buckhurſt*; Sir *Francis Haſtings*, Knight; Sir *John Stanhope*, Knight, Vice-Chamberlain to his Majeſty; Sir *John Herbert*, Knight, ſecond Secretary to his Majeſty; Sir *George Carew*, Knight, Vice-Chamberlain to the *Queen*; Sir *Thomas Strickland*, Knight; Sir *Edward Stafford*, Knight; Sir *Henry Nevill* of *Berk-ſhire*, Knight; Sir *Richard Bukley*, Knight; Sir *Henry Billingſley*, Knight; Sir *Daniel Dun*, Knight, *Dean* of the *Arches*; Sir *Edward Hobby*, Knight; Sir *John Savile*, Knight; Sir *Robert Wroth*, Knight; Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, Knight; Sir *Robert Maunſel*, Knight; Sir *Thomas Ridgeway*, Knight; Sir *Thomas Holcroſt*, Knight; Sir *Thomas Hesketh*, Knight, Arturney of the Court of Wards; Sir *Francis Bacon*, Knight; Sir *Lawrence Tanfield*, Knight, Serjeant at Law; Sir *Henry Hubberd*, Knight, Serjeant at Law; Sir *John Bennet*, Doctor of the Laws; Sir *Henry Withrington*, Sir *Ralph Grey*, and Sir *Thomas Lake*, Knights, *Robert Askwith*, *Thomas James*, and *Henry Chapman*, Merchants, Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons; or any eight of the ſaid *Lords*, and twenty of the ſaid *Commons*: Which *Commiſſioners* ſhall have *power* to aſſemble, meet, treat, and conſult with certain ſelect *Commiſſioners* to be nominated and authoriſed by Authority of the *Parliament* of *Scotland*, concerning ſuch Matters, Cauſes, and things, as they in their *Wiſdoms* ſhall think and deem convenient and neceſſary, for the *honour* of the *King*, and *common good* of both *Kingdoms*. Yet the good intentions of this *Union* took no effect, as will follow in the *ſequel* of this *Hiſtory*. But there were a great many good Laws made, which are too voluminous for this place, having a proper *Sphere* of their own to move in.

Thus the King ſate triumphing as it were, upon a Throne

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of his Peoples *Affections*; and his *beginnings* had ſome ſettlement: for being loth to be troubled, he ſought *Peace* everywhere. But our inbred *diſtempers* lay upon the *Lee*, intermixt with other groſs *dregs*, that the Princes *lenity*, and the Peoples *luxury* produced. For the King minding his *ſports*, many riotous demeanours crept into the Kingdom, the *Sun-ſhine* of *Peace* being apt for ſuch a *production*, upon the ſlime of the late *War*. The Sword and Buckler trade being now out of date, one *corruption* producing another (the City of *London* being always a fit *Receptacle* for ſuch, whoſe *prodigalities* and *waſtes* made them Inſtruments of *Debaucheries*) divers *Sects* of *vitious Perſons*, go

Roaring Boys.

ing under the Title of *Roaring Boys*, *Bravadoes*, *Royſters*, &c. commit many inſolencies; the Streets ſwarm night and day with bloody quarrels, private *Duels* fomented, eſpecially betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Scots*; many Diſcontents nouriſhed in the *Countries*, betwixt the *Gentry* and *Commonalty*, about Incloſure (the meaneſt gaping after new hopes) growing in ſome places to a petty *Rebellion*. Daily *diſcords* (incident to *peace* and *plenty*) betwixt private *Families*, *Papiſt* againſt *Proteſtant*, one Friend againſt another; the *Papiſts* being a ſtrong and dangerous *Faction*, miſſing their *hopes*, ſtrove to make the *Scots* more *odious* than they could make themſelves, though ſome of them went ſo high as to counterfeit the Kings *Privy-Seal*, and make Addreſſes thereby to Foreign *Princes*, for which one *Thomas Dowglas*, taken in the fact, was executed in *Smithfield*. Others were ſo inſolent, as to quip and jear the *Engliſh Nobility*, and other miſdemeanours, which cauſed ſecret heart-burnings, and jealouſies betwixt the *Nations*. But then comes a *Proclamation*, like a ſtrong *Pill*, and carries away the groſſeſt of theſe *humours*.

The Gun-powder Treaſon.

Something yet ſtuck, eſpecially in the *Conſciences* of the *Popiſh Party*, that could not be purged away without a *Toleration*, which they *Petition* for; but not being granted, they contrived one of the moſt Horrid and Stupendious *Miſchiefs*, that ever entred into the Hearts of Men: For their *heat* of *malice* would not be quenched with the *Blood Royal*, but the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, the Repreſentative Body of the whole Kingdom, United at *Weſtminſter*, muſt be ſhattered in pieces, and diſ-membred, by the blaſt of ſix and thirty Barrels of *Gun-powder*, which thoſe dark Contrivers had hid in a Cellar under the *Parliament Houſe*, being diſcovered by a *light* from *Heaven*, and a *Letter* from one of the *Conſpirators*, when the *fire* was already in their *hands*, as well as *rage* in their *hearts*, to put to the *Train*.

Principal Actors.

The *principal* of theſe *Contrivers*, was, *Robert Catesbie*, a Gentleman of a good plentiful *Eſtate*, who firſt hatched and brooded the *Plot*, and promiſed to himſelf the glory of an *Eternal Name*, by the *Propagation* of it; making choyce of *Thomas Percy*,



GUY FAWKES.

Executed in the Year 1606.

for the GUNPOWDER PLOT.

An. Reg. 2.

An. Chriſti 1604.

Percy, *Robert Winter*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Grant*, *Ambroſe Rookwood*, *John Wright*, *Francis Treſham*, Sir *Everard Digby*, and others, Gentlemen of good *Eſtates* (for the moſt part) and *ſpirits* as implacable and furious as his own; who like combuſtible matter took fire at the firſt *motion*, their *zeal* to the *Roman* cauſe burning within them, which nothing but the blood of Innocents can quench. The *deſign* thus ſet afoot, they bind themſelves to ſecreſie, by thoſe *Sacraments* which are the greateſt ties upon the *Soul*, and Saint *Garnet* the *Jeſuit* was their *Confeſſor*. The foundation being laid, every *man* betakes himſelf to his *work*, ſome to provide *money*, ſome *materials*. *Percy* was to hire the *Cellars* under the *Parliament* Houſe, to lay Wood and Coal in, for his Winter-proviſion: *Guido Faux*, a deſperate *Ruffian* (who was to give fire to the Train) was appointed to be his *man* to bring in the Wood and Coal. The *Gunpowder* provided in *Flanders*, is brought from *Lambeth* in the *night*, and covertly laid under the Wood. Thus they prepare all things ready for a *Burnt-offering*, againſt the *day* the *Parliament* ſhould meet, which was to be upon the *ſeventh* of *February*. But the King for ſome *Reaſons* of *State* (which at that time the *dictates* of *Providence* did much approve of) prorogued the *Parliament* of the *fifth* of *November* following, which ſcattered the *Contrivers* at preſent, and they were at their *wits* end; and ſome of them went beyond *Seas*, becauſe they would not beat too much about the *Covert*, their *materials* being fitted; others that ſtaid here perſiſted with *Patience* (made a *Vice* by them) and met often to conſult how they ſhould *manage* their great *buſineſs*, if it took effect. They looked upon the King and Prince, as already *ſacrificed* to their *Cruelty*: And *Percy* undertook to diſpatch the *Duke* of *York*. But becauſe they muſt have one of the *Blood Royal*, that muſt ſerve as a *center* to adhere to, to keep all from Confuſion, they meant to preſerve the Lady *Elizabeth*, and make her *Queen*, that under her *minority* and *innocency*, they might the better eſtabliſh their bloody Principles of *Piety* and *Policy*. They had deſigned the *fatal day* to be upon the *fifth* of *November*, when the King and both Houſes were to meet, and that *day* they appointed a great *Hunting-match* at *Dunſmore-heath* in *Warwick-ſhire*, to be nearer the Lord *Haringtons* Houſe, where the Lady *Elizabeth* was. And they had by their horrid Art, and Experience, ſo fitted their *Matches*, that were to convey the fire to the *Powder*, that they could know a hundred *Miles* off, to a *minute*, when that *Monſtrous* Fiery *Exhalation* would break out.

1604.

Solacing themſelves in this bloody expectation, and thinking their Conveyances under ground were not ſeen above by the *Divine Diſcoverer*, they ſtood like *Vultures* gaping for their *Prey*; when, *behold*! one tender-hearted *Murderer* among the

pack,

An. Reg. 3.

An. Chriſti 1605.

A Letter to my Lord *Monteagle.*

pack, willing to ſave the Lord *Monteagle*, writ this *Letter* to him.

MY Lord, out of the love I bear to ſome of your friends, I have a care of your Preſervation, therefore I would wiſh you (as you tender your Life) to forbear your attendance at this Parliament; for God and Man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of this Time. And think not ſleightly of this advertiſement; for though there be no appearance of any ſtir, yet, I ſay, they ſhall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurt them. This Counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you Good, and can do you no Harm: for the danger is paſt as ſoon as you have burnt this Letter. I hope God will give you grace to make uſe of it, to whoſe Holy Protection I commend you.

Here is the *Protection* of the Holy God deſired, a ſtrange expreſſion in ſo unholy an *action*, which is like their *zeal*, that made their *children* paſs through *fire* to *Moloch*; what horrid *madneſs* kindles ſuch *Sacrifices*? The Lord *Monteagle* aſtoniſhed at the *Letter* (though he underſtood it not) thinking there might be ſomething in it of dangerous concernment, communicated the contents of it to the Earl of *Salisbury*, and ſome others of the Kings Council. *Salisbury* could not find out the *Riddle*, he concluded him either a *fool* or a *mad-man* that wrote it, by this expreſſion, *The danger is paſt as ſoon as the Letter is burnt*: If the danger be paſt when the Letter is burnt, what needeth any warning? But he did not reach the meaning; for the *Writers* deſire was to have the Letter burned, and then the danger would be paſt both to the *Writer* and *Receiver*, if he had grace to make uſe of the *warning*. The King was Hunting the fearful *Hare* at *Royſton*, while they layed this *Snare* for *him* at *Weſtminſter*. As ſoon as he came to *Whitehall*, the Earl of *Salisbury* being of his intimate Councils, and principal *Secretary*, ſhewed him the *Letter*. The King conſidering it circumſpectly (as *Cicero* ſaid of the *Sibyls* works, *Id majus eſt attenti animi quam furentis*) ſaid, *This is no Mad-mans writing*. There is a great *Blow* to be given, they ſhall not ſee it that feel it, which is ſome ſecret *miſchief*. Many times *fear* is a profitable and an active *ſervant*, if it do not *domineer* and grow *maſterly*. He was ſo ſenſible of a *ſtroak*, that he felt it (as it were) coming: Therefore the day before the *Parliament* ſhould begin, he commanded the Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord Chamberlain, to make a ſtrict ſearch about the *Parliament* Houſe, who accompanied with the Lord *Monteagle*, entred the Cellar under the Houſe, which he found ſtuffed with Billet, Faggot, and Coal, and asking *Whinyard* of the *Wardrobe* (who was Houſe-keeper) what *proviſions* they were, he ſaid, he had let the Cellar to Mr. *Thomas Percy* (who was



Hæc est vera & prima originalis editio Thoæ Perci

Os vultumq videsThomæ cognomine Percy
Inter Britannos nobiles notissimi
Queis rebus cæcat ambitione superstitioso
Animo nefandam machinatur dum necem
Regi Reginæ Ordinibus dispendit ur: ipsum
Deo volente scelus in auctorem vuit C

A Thomas Ichnp Capitaneum
B The Iebrysso Regi addictæ
C The Persi in Arce fugit
D Thomas Persi sagittatus mortuus



Execution of the Conspirators
In the Gunpowder Plot in the Year 1606.

An. Reg. 3.

An. Chriſti 1605.

was one of the Gentlemen *Penſioners* to the King) and cloſe by in a corner of the Cellar ſtood *Faux*, in a gaſtly condition (being a raw-bon'd tall man) who being queſtioned, ſaid, he was *Percies* ſervant. The Lord Chamberlain, that would make no noiſe, and buſtle as that time, left both the *Engin* and *Engineer* as he found them, taking no further notice, but apprehended Juſt Cauſe to have the Cellars further ſearched; the Lord *Mounteagle* aſſuring himſelf, it was *Percie* that writ the Letter to him, as ſoon as he heard him named, for there were little intimacies betwixt them. The King with his Council adviſing what to do, reſolved of a further *ſearch* that *night*, committing the Truſt to Sir *Thomas Knevet*, one of the *Gentlemen* of his *Privy-Chamber*, a Man of approved Fidelity; who with a *Retinue* ſuitable to ſuch an Enterpriſe, coming to the Cellar about *Midnight*, he met the watchful *Miniſter* of *Impiety*, *Faux*, at the door, on whom he preſently ſeized; and making further ſearch, pulled out the *core* of all that horrid Contrivance. *Faux*, his under-ground Works being digged out, and ſeeing all unkennel'd, confeſſed the intention, and was only ſorry it came not to perfection, ſaying, *God would have concealed it, and the Devil only diſcovered it.* In his pockets they found a Watch (which were not common then) and a Tinder box, the Engines to minute out his time to ſtrike the ſtroke; ſo punctual was he in his wickedneſs! This tough *piece*, upon examination by the *Lords* of the *Council*, could have little drawn from him, only he ſaid again, *he was ſorry it was not done.* But the *Conſpirators* revealed themſelves; for finding all diſcovered, they pack to *Dunſmore* to the Hunting-meeting, breaking open ſome Stables in *London*, and taking out divers Horſes of *Noblemens*, that were put into *Riders* hands to manage, thinking to make a great *Party*: But the High-Sheriffs of *Warwickſhire*, and *Worceſterſhire*, hunted theſe Fire-brand Foxes ſo, that they were forced (moſt of them) to Earth themſelves in *Littletons* Houſe at *Halbach*, and there *Piercie* and *Catesby* deſperately ſallying out, were both ſlain, ſo were *John Wright*, and *Chriſtopher Wright*: *Thomas Winter*, *Francis Treſham*, and the reſt, were taken; *Treſham* died of the Strangury in the *Tower*; *Thomas Winter*, *Guido Faux*, *Robert Keyes*, *Thomas Bates*, *Robert Winter*, late of *Hoodington* in *Worceſterſhire*, Eſquire; *John Grant* of *Northbrook* in the County of *Warwick*, Eſquire; *Ambroſe Rookwood*, late of *Stamingfield* in the County of *Suffolk*, Eſquire; and Sir *Everard Digby* of *Gothurſt* in *Buckinghamſhire*, Knight, were executed according to their demerit.

Traitors executed.

This Prodigious Contrivance did not only ſtupifie the whole Kingdom with amazement, but Foreign *Princes* made their Wonderment alſo; And though, for the Propagation of the Catholick Cauſe, they might have *Conſcience* enough to wiſh

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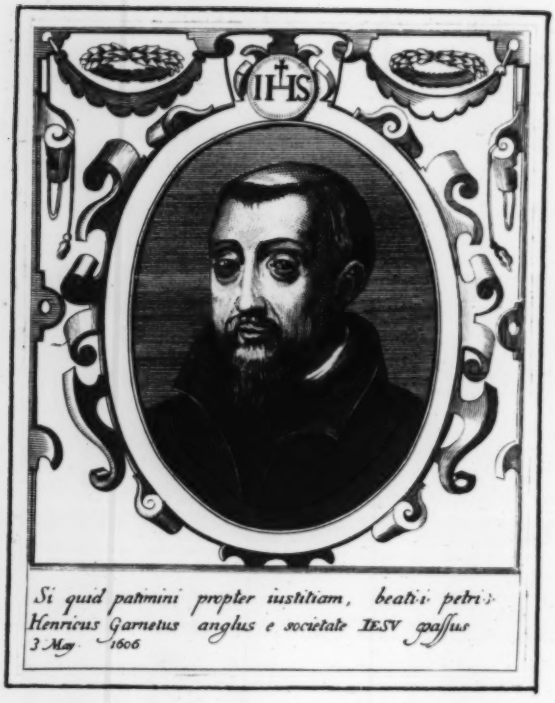
wiſh it had taken Effect; yet they had *Policy* enough to Congratulate the *Diſcovery*; and ſome of them, to take off the aſperity of the *Suſpect*, ſweetned their Expreſſions with many rich Gifts, and Preſents, to the King and Queen. But this bloody Deſign, found in the hand of the Malefactors, graſping the *Miſchief*, and confirmed by their own *Confeſſions* (being ſuch *Spirits* as were fit *Boutefeus* for ſo deſperate an Enterprize) was notwithſtanding father'd upon the *Puritans* (as *Nero* did the burning of *Rome* upon the *Chriſtians*) by ſome impudent and cunning *Jeſuits* (whoſe practice is to deceive) if not quite to clear their party, yet by ſtirring this muddy water, to make that which is in it to appear the leſs perſpicuous; and it is like the reſt of their *Figments*, fit baits for *Ignorance* to nibble on: Which ſome years after I had *opportunity* at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, to make *Weſton*, an old *Jeſuit*, active in the *Powder-plot*, ingenuouſly to confeſs.

The Parliament meet the 9. of *Novemb.*

This preceded the ſecond *Seſſions* of the firſt *Parliament*, prorogued till the fifth of *November*, and upon the ninth they met; where with Hearts full of Fears and Jealouſies, they ripped up the ground of the *Machination*, for diſcovery of the *Complotters*; and laid ſuch a Foundation of good *Laws* againſt *Papiſts*, as might ſerve for a Bulwark in the time to come. The King was not unmindful of the Lord *Monteagle*, the firſt *Diſcoverer* of this Treaſon, for he gave to him and his Heirs for ever, two hundred pounds a year in Fee-farm *Rents*, and five hundred pounds a year beſides, during his life, as a reward for this good ſervice.

Rumors of the Kings death.

In the midſt of the *Parliaments Activity*, a rumour was ſpread (by what ſtrange means unknown) that the King was ſtabbed at *Okingham* (twenty miles from *London*, where he was Hunting) with a poyſoned knife: The *Court* at *Whitehall*, the *Parliament*, and *City*, took the *Alarum*, muſtering up their Old Fears, every man ſtanding at *gaze*, as if ſome new *Prodigie* had ſeized them; ſuch a Terror had this late *monſtrous* intended *miſchief* imprinted in the *ſpirits* of the People, that they took Fire from every little Train of *Rumour*, and were ready to grapple with their own *Deſtruction* before it came. In the midſt of this *Agony*, there came aſſurance of the Kings ſafety, which he was enforced to divulge by *Proclamation*, to re-eſtabliſh the *People*. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador gave Sir *Lewis Lewknor*, Maſter of the *Ceremonies*, a Chain of Gold of good Value, for bringing him the news of the *Kings* ſafety, which preſently reſounded in the *Court*; and it was thought, he was ſo *bountiful*, either out of Terror, being afraid of the People in this *Confuſion*, becauſe it was *rumor'd*, that the *King* of *Spain* was a Fomenter of the *Plot*; or out of a deſire to *vindicate* his Maſters Honour, and take the *Odium* from him; for he had been ſolicited by divers *Jeſuits*, together with theſe



Si quid patimini propter iustitiam, beati. 1. petri 3.
Henricus Garnetus anglus e societate IESV passus
3 May 1606

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theſe *Conſpirators*, to invade *England*. The *Principal* of which *Jeſuits*, called *Henry Garnet* (*Provincial* of the Order in *England*) was arraigned at *Guild-hall*, the twentieth of *March* 1605. and executed at the Weſt end of St. *Pauls* ſoon after.

Henry Lord *Mordant*, and *Edward* Lord *Sturton*, not coming to the *Parliament* according to their *writ* of *Summons*, were ſuſpected to have knowledg of the Conſpiracy, and ſo was the Earl of *Northumberland* from ſome preſumptions, and all three were committed to the *Tower*. The two Barons (after ſome impriſonment) were redeemed by *Fine* in *Star-chamber*, but the Earl continued a Priſoner there for many years after.

The King of *Denmarks* firſt coming.

In *July* this year the King of *Denmark* (Brother to the *Queen*) came in Perſon as a *viſitor*, where he found their Shakings ſomewhat ſetled, their Terrors abated, and met with not only all thoſe varieties that Riches, Power, and Plenty are capable to produce for *ſatisfaction*, where *will* and *affection* are the *diſpenſers*, but he beheld with admiration the *ſtately Theatre*, whereon the *Danes* for many hundred of years had acted their bloody parts: But how he reſented their *Exit*, or the laſt *Act* of that black *Tragœdy*, wherein his Country loſt their intereſt, ſome *Divine Power*, that ſearches the capacious hearts of *Princes* can only diſcover. This *ſhort Month* of his ſtay carryed with it as pleaſing a countenance on every ſide, and of their *Recreations* and *Paſtimes*, flew as high a flight, as *Love* mounted upon the wings of *art* and *fancy*, the ſutable *nature* of the *ſeaſon*, or Times ſwift foot could poſſibly arrive at. The Court, City, and ſome parts of the Country with Banquetings, Masks, Dancings, Tilting, Barriers, and other Gallantry (beſides the manly Sports of Wreſtling, and the brutiſh Sports of baiting Wild-beaſts) ſwelled to ſuch a greatneſs, as if there were an intention in every particular man, this way to have blown up himſelf.

The fifth of *Novemb.* made Holy-day.

The ſeven and twentieth of *May* laſt, the *Parliament* was prorogued to the eighteenth of *November* following; but before they parted (having hearts full of affection for Gods great *deliverance* of the whole Kingdom from ruin and deſtruction) they made an *Act* to have the fifth of *November* for ever ſolemnized with publick Thankſgiving: Imputing the Diſcovery of the Treaſon to Gods inſpiring the King with a *Divine Spirit* to interpret ſome dark *phraſes* of the Letter, above, and beyond all ordinary *conſtruction*. They attainted the blood of thoſe Traitors that were Executed, as alſo, thoſe that were ſlain in the field, or dyed in Priſon. They made many good Laws, for the diſcovering and ſuppreſſing of *Popiſh Recuſants*. And gave the King three intire *Subſidies* and ſix *Fifteens*. Beſides four *Subſidies* of four ſhillings in the pound granted by the *Clergy*. But they put off the Treaty of *Union*, by an *Act* that referred it to be done as well any other *Seſſion* of *Parliament*, ſo willing they

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An. Christi 1606.

were to keep close to the Kings affections, and not to start from him. But the next *Session* (the King being loth to be longer delayed) the business of the *Union* was much pressed again, by some that knew the Kings mind, among whom, Sir *Francis Bacon* (now the Kings *Solicitor*) was a principal *Instrument*, who came prepared for it, and first moved the House of Commons, that the *Scots* might be *Naturalized* by *Act* of *Parliament*; which was opposed by divers strong and *modest Arguments*. Among which they brought in the comparison of *Abraham* and *Lot*, whose *Families* joyning, they grew to difference, and to those words, *Vade tu ad dextram, & ego ad sinistram.*

Arguments about a Union.

It was answered, That *Speech* brought the *captivity* of the *one*, they having dis-joyned their strength.

The *Party opposing* said, If we admit them into our *Liberties*, we shall be over-run with them, as Cattle (naturally) pent up by a slight Hedg, will over it into a better *soyl*, and a Tree taken from a barren place will thrive to excessive, and exuberant Branches in a better, witness the *multiplicities* of the *Scots* in *Polonia*,

To which it was answer'd, That if they had not *means, place, custom*, and *imployment* (not like *Beasts* but *Men*) they would starve in a plentiful *soyl*, though they came into it; and what *spring-tide* and *confluence* of that *Nation* have housed and familied themselves among us, these four years of the Kings reign? And they will never live so meanly here as they do in *Polonia*; for they had rather discover their poverty abroad than at home. Besides, there is a question whether *England* be fully peopled, witness the drowned Grounds, and Common-wasts; the ruins and decays of ancient Towns in this *Realm*; Witness how many serve in the *Parliament* for desolate *Burroughs*; Witness our Wasts by Sea, as well as by Land, suffering the *Flemings* to carry away all our *Fishing*, the sinews of our industry being slackned, we want active *spirits* to *corroborate* them by their *example*: Besides the planting *Ireland*, fully abounding with Rivers, Havens, Woods, Quarries, good Soyl, and temperate Climate. No surcharge of people hath been prejudicial to Countreys, the worst will be an *honourable War*, to recover our ancient *Rights*, or revenge our *Injuries*, or to attain to the *honour* of our *Ancestors*. We should not forget the consideration of Amplitude and Greatness, and fall at variance about Profit, and Recknings, fitter for private persons than Kingdoms.

The other side objected, That the *Fundamental Laws* of both Kingdoms are divers, and it is declared, they shall so continue, and therefore it would not be reasonable to proceed to this *Naturalization*, whereby to indow them with our *Rights*, except they should receive, and submit to our *Laws*.

It



Edwardus I D G Rex Ang:
Dux Aquit: etc Dom: Hib:

Sould by Robt: Peake.

It was anſwered, That in the Adminiſtration of the *world* under God, the great *Monarch*, his Laws are divers; one Law in *Spirits*, another in *Bodies*, one Law in *Regions Celeſtial*, another in *Elementary*, and yet the *Creatures* are all one *maſs*, or lump. That in the ſtate of the *Church*, among People of ſeveral languages, and lineages, there is a *Communion* of *Saints*, and we are all fellow-Citizens, and *Naturalizants* of the *Heavenly Jeruſalem*, and yet divers *Eccleſiaſtical Laws*, *Policies*, and *Hierarchies*; for the *Laws* are rather *Figura Republicæ*, than *Formæ*; rather bonds of *Perfection*, than *Intireneſs*. That in *Ireland*, *Jerſey*, *Gerneſey*, and the Iſle of *Man*, our Common *Laws* are not in force, and yet they have the benefit of *Naturalization*.

To which it was replyed, that theſe are only Flouriſhes of *Rhetorick*; for God (who is the only *Diſpoſer* of all his *Creatures*) keeps them in *Order* and *Obedience* to *Him*, by a Law which they cannot deviate from, unleſs he withdraws his preſerving Hand from them: But betwixt Man and Man, or Realm and Realm, there can be no ſuch Tie, or Obligation, to hold an *Unity*, where they have various *Laws*, and various *Priviledges*. And for the immunities given to the *Iriſh* (for ſome *Ages* paſt) they were *Engliſh Colonies* ſent there to plant, being a great part of them *Natives* with us, of the ſame blood and ſtock, with whom we are ingrafted by Time, and made (as it were) one Body, the better to ſecure their obedience, and hinder any *League* or *Amity* with a Foreign *Nation*. But *Scotland* hath an intire *Union* with the *French*, continued for ſome hundreds of years, that is indiſſolvable, and therefore incompetent, yet to the *freedoms* of *England*. When we have had as much experience of the *Friendſhip of Scotland*, as of them, we ſhall incline to a more intimate *Union*. Beſides there is an inequality in the *Fortunes* of the two *Nations*; and by this *Commixture*, there may enſue advantage to them, and loſs to us.

To the latter part was anſwered, *Beatius eſt dare quàm accipere*: And *Edward* the Firſt, among other Commendations of *War*, and *Policy*, none was more celebrated than his purpoſe and enterprize, for the Conqueſt of *Scotland*; as not bending his *Deſigns* to glorious Acqueſts abroad, but ſolid ſtrength at home; which, if it had ſucceeded, could not but have brought in thoſe inconveniences, of the Commixture of a more *opulent* Kingdom with a leſs; for it is not the yoke either of *Laws* or *Arms*, that can alter the *nature* of the *Climate*, or the *nature* of the *Soil*; neither is it the *manner* of the *Commixture*, that can alter the *nature* of the *Commixture*; and therefore if it were good for us then, it is good for us now; and not to be prized the leſs, becauſe we paid not ſo dear for it.

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They ſtrive further to prove, That the benefit of *Naturalization* is by *Law*, to as many as have been, or ſhall be born, ſince the Kings coming to the *Crown*; for there is no more than to bring the *Ante-nati* unto the *degree* of *Poſt-nati*, that *Men* grown may be in no worſe caſe than *Children*, and elder *Brothers* in no worſe condition than younger *Brothers*. That if any object the *Law* is not ſo, but that the *Poſt-nati* are *Aliens* as the reſt, it is contrary to the Reaſon of *Law*. The Wiſdom of the Common Laws of *England* is admirable, in diſtribution of the Benefit, and Perfection of the Law, according to the ſeveral conditions of *Perſons*, The *Degrees* are four, two of *Aliens*, and two of *Subjects*: The firſt *Degree* is of an *Alien* born under a King or State, that is an Enemy; if ſuch an one come into the Kingdom without ſafe *conduct*, it is at his *peril*, the *Law* giveth him no *protection*, neither of Body, Lands, nor Goods; ſo as if he be ſlain, there is no remedy by any appeal, at the Parties ſute, though ſhe were an *Engliſh Woman*; though at the Kings ſute the Caſe may be otherwiſe, in regard of the offence to the *Peace*, and *Crown*, The ſecond *Degree* is of an *Alien* that is born under *Faith* and *Allegiance* of a King, or State, that is a Friend; unto ſuch a Perſon the *Law* doth impart a greater benefit and protection concerning things perſonal, tranſitory, and moveable, as Goods and Chattels, Contracts, and the like, but not concerning Free-hold, and Inheritance; and the *Reaſon* is, becauſe he *may* be an Enemy, though he *be* not; for the State where he was born, may enter into *Hoſtility*; and therefore as the *Law* hath but a Tranſitory aſſurance of him, ſo it rewards him with Tranſitory *benefits*. The third *Degree* is of a *Subject*, who having been an *Alien*, is made free by *Charter*, and *Denization*: To ſuch a one the *Law* doth impart yet a more ample *benefit*, for it gives him a power to purchaſe *Free-hold*, and Inheritance to his own uſe, and likewiſe inables his *Children* (born after his *Denization*) to inherit: But yet he cannot make Title, or convey any *Pedigree* from any *Anceſtour Paramount*; for the *Law* thinks not good to make him in the ſame *Degree* with a *Subject* born, becauſe he was once an *Alien*, and ſo might have been an *Enemy*; and *Affections* cannot be ſo ſetled by any *benefit*, as when from their *Nativity* they are inbred, and inherent. The fourth *Degree*, and the perfect *Degree*, is of ſuch a *Perſon*, as neither is Enemy, nor can be Enemy in time to come, nor would have been Enemy at any time paſt; and therefore the *Law* gives unto him the full *benefit* of *Naturalization*. Now if theſe be the true ſteps and paces of the *Law*, no man can deny, but whoſoever is born under the Kings *obedience*, never could, *in aliquo puncto temporis*, be an Enemy; and therefore in reaſon of *Law* is *Naturalized*. So though the *Scots* ſeem to be in Reaſon, *Naturales ipſo jure*, yet it is not *ſuperfluous* to have it done by

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by *Parliament*; for it will ſhew the *World* our *love* to them, and good agreement with them.

Then they ſhewed by authority of *Hiſtory*, and *Experience*, the Inconveniencies that may grow, if this *Union* of *Naturalization* doth not cloſe, and bind up the Veins, ſo as to make it one perfect Body; For elſe it may be apt to open, and break out again upon all *occaſions*, and *relapſe* to the detriment of both: Ripping up ancient *Stories* of the *Romans* and *Latines*, and the *wars* they had, meerly for want of this *Union*, and never were at quiet till they injoyed it. Then between the *Peloponneſians*, and the *Spartans* the like. And from ancient *Stories* to the Kingdom of *Arragon* and *Caſtile*, united in the Perſons of *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*, ſevered and divided from the reſt of *Spain* in Priviledges, and directly in this point of *Naturalization*, or capacity of *Inheritance*. But what came of this? A *Rebellion* grew among them, which a *Royal Army* with difficulty ſuppreſſed, and (they being made one incorporated *Body* with the reſt of *Spain*) perpetuated *Peace* to *Poſterity*.

The like example was betwixt *Florence* and *Piſa*. And whatſoever Kingdoms and States have been United, and that *Union* corroborated by the *Bonds* of *Naturalization*, you ſhall never obſerve them afterward, upon any occaſion to break or ſever again: Whereof divers Provinces in *France*, by time annexed to that *Crown*, are further witneſſes. So that except they proceed to this *Naturalization*, theſe *Realms* will be in continual danger to divide and break again.

Next they ſhew the Benefits to be Security and Greatneſs. Surety, by ſtopping up the Poſtern-gates of our Enemies, ſo that we ſhall not be ſo much a temptation to the *ambition* of Foreigners, when their Approaches and Avenues are taken away: For having ſo little *ſucceſs* when they had theſe advantages, they will have leſs comfort when they want them. And Greatneſs by this *Union* muſt needs follow: For having ſo many Iron-handed men in theſe three Kingdoms, we ſhall not only pluck Gold from the (once poor) *Spaniards Indian-mines*, but by our *Arms* keep in *awe* the whole *Chriſtian World*.

Theſe *Arguments* preſt with gilded *Oratory* by the *Solicitor* and his *partakers*, could not prevail, though urged with all the *power wit* could invent, or *Hope* aim at: For being new budded in *Court*, he was one of thoſe that ſmoothed his *way* to a full *ripeneſs*, by *liquoriſh* and *pleaſing* paſſages, which he at laſt attained to, being made Lord *Chancellor* of *Eugland*. But ſuch *ſweets*, though delightful at preſent, breed *rottenneſs* in the end: for he withered, and came to nothing, as in due time ſhall be expreſſed.

But the King (like a great Sea) being troubled when ſuch croſs winds are boiſtrous, ſent for both Houſes of *Parliament* to *Whitehall*.

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The Kings Speech to the Parliament about the Union.

hall the laſt of *March*, 1607. to calm them; where betwixt a Sun-ſhine of fair Words, and a Cloud of Anger, he colours over ſome of the *Arguments* that had been uſed, and urges others for his beſt advantage, with a plain *naturalbluntneſs* fit for Kings. He tells them, the *Union* he deſires, is of *Laws* and *Perſons*, ſuch a *Naturalizing* as may make one *Body* of both *Kingdoms*; that as there is but *Unus Rex*, ſo there may be but *Unus Grex*, *& Una Lex*. His intention is not, as ſome idly alledg, to give *England* the labour and ſweat, and *Scotland* the fruit and ſweet, vainly talking of tranſplanting Trees out of barren ground into better, and lean Cattle out of bad paſture into a more fertile ſoyl. Can any man diſplant them unleſs they will? Or is *Scotland* ſo ſtrong, to pull them out of their *houſes?* Whereas the waſte grounds in *Scotland* would rather be planted by Swarms of People that cumber the *Streets* here.

Firſt, He deſires that all Hoſtile Laws ſhould ceaſe, being the King of *England* cannot make War with the King of *Scotland*.

Secondly, That there ſhould be Community of Commerce, he being no Stranger, but deſcended of their ancient Kings: and how can he be *Natural Liege-Lord* to both, and they *Strangers* to one another? And ſhall they that be under the ſame Allegiance be no freer, nor have no better Reſpect than *Frenchmen* and *Spaniards?*

Thirdly, They all agree they are no *Aliens*, and yet will not allow them to be *Natural*. That he was informed by their own *Judges* and *Lawyers*, at his firſt acceſs to the *Crown*, that there was a difference between the *Ante* and *Poſt-nati* of each Kingdom; which cauſed him to publiſh a *Proclamation*, that the *Poſt-nati* were *Naturalized* by his acceſſion; but he confeſſes, *Judges* may err, ſo may the *Lawyers* on their ſide: Therefore he admoniſhes them to beware to diſgrace, either his *Proclamations*, or the *Judges*, for ſo they may diſgrace both their *King* and *Laws*; who have *power*, when the *Parliament* is ended, to try them both for Lands and Lives.

And for ſome of them who with their flattering *ſpeeches* would have the *Ante-nati* preferred, alledging their *merit* in my *ſervice*, ſuch *Diſcourſes* have *mel in ore*, *& fel in corde*; carrying an outward appearance of *love* to the *Union*, but a contrary *reſolution* in their *hearts*. For the King would have them know, it lies within the compaſs of his *Prerogative* to prefer whom he pleaſes to any *Dignity* Civil or Eccleſiaſtical. But he is ſo far from prejudicing the *Engliſh*, that he is willing to bind himſelf to reaſonable *Reſtrictions*. Beſides, it is a ſpecial Point of the Kings *Prerogative*, to make *Aliens*, *Citizens*; and in any caſe wherein the *Law* is thought not to be clear, *Rex eſt Judex*; for he is *Lex loquens*, ſupplying the *Law* where it wants. But this he ſpeaks,

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ſpeaks as knowing what belongs to a *King*, not intending to preſs it further than may agree with their *loves*, and ſtand with the conveniency of both *Nations*.

The inconveniences ſuppoſed to ariſe from *Scotland*, are pretended to be,

1. An evil affection in the *Scots* to the *Union*.
2. That the *Union* is incompetible.
3. That the Gain is ſmall, or none.

If this be ſo, Why is there talk of an *Union*? For the firſt, They alledg the averſeneſs of the *Scots*, from the *Preface*, and *Body* of their *Act*; where they decare, they will remain an abſolute and *free Monarchy*, and not alter the *Fundamental Laws* of the Kingdom. And yet in the beginning of this *Seſſion* of *Parliament*, the *opinion* was current, that *Scotland* was greedy of this *Union*, and purſued it with ſo much *violence*, that they cared not for the ſtrictneſs of the Conditions, ſo they might attain the *ſubſtance*, and *end*. And yet they now ſay, they are backwards, which is a Contradiction; for how can they both beg and deny the ſame thing, at one and the ſame time? And by preſerving their *Fundamental Laws*, they mean, thoſe *Laws* by which *Confuſion* is avoided, and their Kings *Succeſſion*, and *Monarchy* maintained. To which he *Declares*, That he is in deſcent three hundred years before *Chriſt*, not meaning (as they do) their Common Law; for the *Scots* have no *Law* but that which is *Jus Regis*. And for their deſire of continuing a *free Monarchy*, he hopes they mean not he ſhould ſet *Garriſons* over them, as the *Spaniards* do over *Sicily* and *Naples*.

And then he tells them, That he governs *Scotland* with his *Pen*; he writes, and doth more by a Clerk of the *Council*, than others could do by the *Sword*. And though he knows there are many ſeditious Perſons in that Kingdom, that may talk *lewdly* enough, yet none of them ever ſpake diſhonourably of *England*, as they have done of *Scotland*: For if any man ſpeaks any thing uncomely there, the *Chancellor* by his *Authority* interrupts him; but here they have freedom to ſpeak what they liſt, and as long as they liſt, without contradiction. Then the King ſhews what the *Laws* of *Scotland* are.

1. Thoſe which concern *Tenures*, *Wards*, *Liveries*, *Signiories*, and *Lands*, are drawn out of the *Chancery* of *England*, brought by *James* the Firſt (who was bred up here) and differ only in terms.

The ſecond are *Statute Laws*, to which he hopes they will be no *Strangers*.

The third is the *Civil Law*, brought out of *France* by *James* the Fifth; and ſerve only to ſupply in ſuch Caſes, where the *Municipal Laws* are defective: So that he hopes it is no hard matter to unite the *People* together, who are in effect already

ſubject

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subject to the same *Law*. And whereas it is *Objected*, that the *King* of *Scotland* hath not a *Negative Voice* in *Parliament*, but must pass the *Laws* agreed on by the *Lords* and *Commons*: He assures them, that the *form* of *Parliament* there, is nothing inclined to *Popularity*: For about twenty days before the *Parliament* begins, *Proclamation* is made throughout the Kingdom, that all Bills to be exhibited that *Session*, be delivered to the *Master* of the *Rolls* by a certain day: Then they are brought to the King, perused, and considered by him; and only such as he allows, are put into the *Chancellors* hand, to be propounded that *Parliament*, and no other. And if any man speak of any other Matter than is in this *Form* first allowed by *him*, the *Chancellor* tells him, that there is no such Bill allowed by the *King*: And when they are past for *Laws*, he ratifies and confirms them, first racing out what he doth not approve of. And if this be to be called a *Negative Voice* in *Parliament*, then he hath *one*.

2. For the *Union* betwixt the *French* and the *Scots*, which makes this *Union* so incompetible; he assures them, it was a *League* only made between the *Kings*, not the *People*. For *Scotland* being solicited by *England* and *France* at one Time, for a *League* Offensive and Defensive, against each others *Enemies*. There was a great *Disputation* maintained in *favour* of *England*, that they being our *Neighbours* joyned in one *Continent*, a strong and *Powerful Nation*, it would be more Security to the State of *Scotland* to joyn in *Amity* with *England*, than with *France*, divided by the Sea, where they must abide the hazard of wind and weather, and other Accidents that might hinder relief.

But on the contrary, it was alledged in the *favour* of *France*, That *England* ever sought to conquer *Scotland*, and therefore there would never be kept any *sound Amity*: Whereas *France*, lying more *remote*, claimed no *interest*, and therefore would be found a more *constant* and *faithful Friend*; so it was concluded on their Part. But by the *Tenour* it was ordered to be renewed, and confirmed from King to King successively, by the *mediation* of their *Ambassadors*, and therefore merely *personal*. And so it was renewed in the *Queen* his *Mothers* time, but not by assent in *Parliament*; which it could not have wanted, if it had been a *League* of the *People*. And in the Kings Time, when it came to be *ratified*, because it appeared to be in *Odium Tertii*, it was by him left un-renewed, in consideration of his *Title* to the *Crown*.

3. For the Profit and Commodity that shall arise to *England* by this *Union*; Who is so ignorant that doth not know the gain will be great? Do they not gain by the *Union* of *Wales*? And is not *Scotland* greater than *Wales*? Shall not Lands, Seas, and *Person* be added to their *Greatness*? Two Snow-balls put together


REGINA ✝ MARIA
IACOBI SCOTORVM
REGIS FILIA
SCOTORVMQVE NVNC


HONORATISS. Dns. THOMAS EGERTONUS BARO DE ELLESMER ANGLIÆ CANCELLAR.ius.

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gether grow greater; two Houſes joyned make one the larger; and two Caſtle-walls made into one, makes one as thick and ſtrong as both. And he profeſſes, he ſeeks this *Union* only to advance the greatneſs of their *Empire* here in *England*, yet with ſuch caution as may ſtand with the weal of both States. What is now deſired, hath oft been ſought, and not obtained, to refuſe it then now were double *iniquity*, And for their ſecurity in ſuch reaſonable points of *Reſtriction*, which he ſhall agree to, they need not doubt his inclination: For he will never ſay any thing he will not promiſe, nor promiſe any thing which he will not ſwear, nor ſwear any thing which he will not perform.

The Parliament declined the Union.

This urged with aſſeveration might have wrought much with the *Parliament*, but that they apprehended a great inconvenience in ſuch an *Union*, where the Laws and Government are of different *natures*. All were not *Romans* that were born *ſubjects* to the *Roman Empire*, though St. *Paul* was born one, the *Centurion* was a purchaſer. For notwithſtanding all the former *Arguments* by the King, and his Miniſters, the *Parliament* knew that it is true, That if *Scotland* had been Conquered, the only way to tie them to *obedience*, were to let them taſte the *ſweets* of *Engliſh Liberties*. But to let them ſit Triumphing upon their own *priviledges*, and roam about among the *Engliſh Freedoms*, were to make them ſtraggle too much. The *Scots* would not leſſen, nor in the leaſt derogate from the *dignity* of their long continued *Monarchy*, and the *Engliſh* thought they had no reaſon to come to them to derogate from themſelves. The *Parliament* only feared the Kings *Power* would have ſuch an influence upon the *Judges* of the Kingdom; that the *Scots* would be *naturalized* too ſoon, they were reſolved not to be acceſſary to it: which indeed ſome two years after was confirmed in *Calvins* caſe of *poſt-nati*, reported by the Lord Chief Juſtice *Cook*, who was fit *metal* for any *ſtamp Royal*, and adjudged by him, the Lord Chancellor *Elleſmere*, and moſt of the Judges of the Kingdom in the *Exchequer-Chamber*, though many ſtrong and valid *Arguments* were brought againſt it (*ſuch Power is in the breath of Kings!*) and ſuch *ſoft ſtuff* are Judges made of, that they can vary their *Precedents*, and *model* them into as many *ſhapes* as they pleaſe. And thus this *Caſe* ſtood like a *Statue* cloathed by the Lord Chief Juſtice in the *vulgar* Language (when the reſt of his *Reports* ſpoke an unknown Tongue) that the Kingdom might take more particular notice, that the *Scots* were as free in *England* as themſelves, yet it fell not out to their *wiſhes*. But all that could be gotten from the *Parliament*, was, That the Laws of *hoſtility* that were anciently made betwixt *England* and *Scotland* were repealed, that the old *grudges* which cauſed the *Diſ-union* (the War in the *members*) might be taken away. And

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in the ſaid *Act* they provided, That if a *natural* born *ſubject* of *England* did commit any miſdemeanour in *Scotland*, and fly into *England*, he ſhould be tried where he was taken, and not carried into *Scotland* to receive his *judgment* there; *Till ſuch time* (which are the very words of the *Act*) *as both Kingdoms ſhall be made one in* Laws *and* Government, *which is the thing ſo much deſired, as that wherein the full perfection of the bleſſed Union* (*already begun in the Kings Royal perſon*) *conſiſteth.* And further they went not: For they found and feared the old *enmity* would yet a while continue; for ſince the Kings coming into *England*, the looſe and uncompoſed *Borderers*, that lived upon rapine and ſpoil (ſeeking *new benefits* from *new changes*) had broke out and committed many inſolencies, who though they were ſuppreſſed by the Forces of *Barwick* and *Carlile*, and many of them ſuffered in it, yet *cuſtom* and *habit* had bred in them a *natural Ferity*, which could only be reſtrained by giving *freedom* to the *Laws*, that within a ſhort time gave bound to that *barbarous animoſity*. The *Laws* made in *Scotland* to the prejudice of the *Engliſh* were likewiſe repealed there, ſo that all paſſages were made ſmooth on both ſides. This *Seſſion* alſo produced divers good *Laws* for the *benefit* of the Common-wealth.

But this *Seſſion* brought in no money, that is as the *blood* of the *Subject*, which He (as a wiſe *Phyſician*) would not ſtrain from them the *ordinary way*, leſt the ſenſe of it ſhould bring the more fears and faintings with it, but by laying on little Burthens at firſt, he not only inured them to bear greater, but made them ſweat out ſome of that *humor* inſenſibly, though they felt it afterward, when they found the *weight* laid upon their *ſhoulders*, only (as they conceived) to daub other *mens* with *bravery*. For the Kings Bounty was ſeen by the *vulgar eye* to overflow in many little *Rivulets*, who knew the golden ſtreams that out-faced the Sun came not from the *Norths* cold climate, but were drained out of the *fountains* of their *labor*. They could not endure to ſee their *fellow Subjects* grow fat, by what ſhould be their *nouriſhment*. Collecting that the King had received three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds *ſubſidies*, due to the *late Queen*, beſides what the *Parliament* had given him. And fearing that *Proclamations* (who were indeed very *active Miniſters*) would now become *Laws*, uſhering in the Kings will with large *ſtrides* upon the *peoples Liberties*, who lay down while they ſtept over them. The ingenious *ſort*, ſenſible of this incroaching *Monarchy*, brake out into private *murmur*, which by *degrees* (being of a *light nature*) carried a Cloud with it, by which the wiſe *Pilots* of the *State*, foreſeeing a Storm gathering, ſtrive to diſſipate it the next *Seſſion* of *Parliament*, which was held the nineteenth of *February*, in the ſeventh year of our Kings Reign.

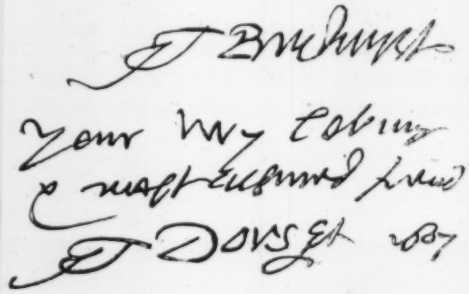
Not



Thomas Sackville Earl of Dorſet.

From the Original at Knowle.





H. Seal & Autograph from the original Letters in the Poſſeſſion of
John Tho[illegible]

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Not long after this, the Earl of *Dorſet*, Lord High Treaſurer, died ſuddenly, as he ſate at the *Council* Table; which gave occaſion to ſome perſons diſaffected to *him* (as what eminent Officer that hath the managing of Moneys can pleaſe all?) to ſpeak many things to his *Diſhonour*. But they conſidered not, that beſides the *Black* worm and the *White* (day and night, as the Riddle is) that are gnawing conſtantly at the root of this tree of Life, there are many inſenſible Diſeaſes, as *Apoplexies*, whoſe *Vapors* ſuddenly extinguiſh the *Animal Spirits*; and *Apoſtems* both in the upper, and middle *Region* of *Man*, that often drown and *ſuffocate* both *Animal* and *Vital*; who are like imbodyed *Twins*, the one cannot live without the other; if the *Animal Spirits* fail, the *Vital* cannot ſubſiſt, if the *Vitals* periſh, the *Animal* give over their *operations*. And He that judges ill of ſuch an *Act* of *Providence*, may have the ſame hand, at the ſame time, writing within the Palace walls of his *own Body*, the ſame *Period* to his *Lives earthly Empire*.

The death of the Earl of *Dorſet* ſuddenly.

The Earl of *Saliſbury* ſucceeded him, a man nouriſhed with the milk of *Policy*, under his father the Lord *Burley* (famous for Wiſdom in his *Generation*) a Courtier from his infancy, Batteld by Art, and Induſtry, under the late *Queen*, mother of her *Country*. Though *Nature* was not propitious to his *Outſide* (being Crooked backt) *She* ſupplied that want with admirable indowments within. This man the King found *Secretary*, and Maſter of the *Wards*; and to theſe he added the Treaſurers ſtaff, knowing him to be the ſtaff of his *Treaſury*: For he had knowledg enough to pry into other *Mens* Offices aſwell as his own, and knew the ways of diſburſing the Kings moneys. The Earl of *Northampton*, he made Lord *Privy Seal*; and theſe were the two prime wheels of his triumphant *Chariot*. The Earl of *Suffolk* was made Lord *Chamberlain* before, but he came far behind in the management of the Kings affairs, being a *Spirit* of a more *Groſſer* Temper, fitter to part a fray, and Compoſe the differences of a diſordered *Court*, than a Kingdom. Upon the Shoulders of the two firſt the King laid the *Burthen* of his buſineſs: For though he had many *Lords* his Creatures, ſome by *Creation*, and ſome by inſinuation (for Kings will never want ſupple-hand *Courtiers*) and the *Biſhops*, being his *Dependents*, the moſt of them tending by direct Lines towards him, as the *Center* of their advancement; ſo that *He* (like the *Supreme Power*) moved this upper *Region*, for the moſt part, and that had an influence upon the *lower*, in inferior *Orbs*; yet theſe two noble *Men* were the two great *Lights* that were to diſcover the Kings mind to the *Parliament*, and by whoſe *Heat*, and *Vigor*, the bleſſed fruits of *Peace*, and Plenty, ſhould be produced.

The Earl of *Saliſbury* made Treaſurer.

Saliſbury and *Northampton* Sticklers for the King.

The Lord Treaſurer (by a Command from the King) inſtructs both *Houſes* in their buſineſs, and what they ſhall do well to inſiſt

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sist upon this *Session*. First, To supply his Majesties wants. Secondly, To ease the people of their Grievances. They go commonly yoakt together; for the peoples Grievances are the Kings Wants, and the Kings Wants are the peoples Grievances, How can they be separated? If the King will always want, the people will always suffer: For Kings when they do want, lay commonly *lawless* impositions on the people, which they must take off again with a *sum* of money, and then they want again to a continued *vicissitude*.

These two Propositions are sweetned by him with a third: Which is to make the *Parliament* witnesses of those great *favours*, and *honours*, that his Majesty intended his Royal Son, Prince *Henry*, in creating him Prince of *Wales*: Which though the King might do without a *Parliament*, and that divers Kings his *Predecessors* had done so, (as by many *precedents* was manifested) yet being desirous to have a happy *Union* betwixt him and his People, he would have nothing resound ill in their *ears*, from so eminent an instrument to the Kingdoms good as his Son. Then they excuse the Kings *necessities*, proceeding from his great *disbursements*. For the three hundred and fifty thousand pounds *Subsidies*, due in the late *Queens* time, he received with one hand, and paid her Debts with another, redeeming the *Crown Lands* which she had morgaged to the City. He kept an *Army* of nineteen thousand men in *Ireland*, for some time a foot; wherein a great many of the *Nobility* were Commanders, and other deserving *Soldiers*, that would have been exposed to want and penury, if not supplied: And it was not safe for the King to trust the inveterate *malice* of a new reconciled *Enemy*, without the *Sword* in his hand. The late *Queens* Funeral Charges were reckon'd up, which they hoped the *Parliament* would not repine at: Nor was it fit the King should come in as a private Person, bringing in one *Crown* on his *head*, and finding another here; or his *Royal Consort*, with our *future Hopes* (like so many precious *Jewels*) exposed to *Robbers*, without a *Guard* and *Retinue*? How fit was the *Magnificence* at the King of *Denmarks* being here? And how just that *Ambassadors* from Foreign Princes (more than ever this Crown received) should find those Entertainments and Gratuities, the want whereof would put a dim lustre abroad upon the most sparkling Jewels of the Crown; Besides the necessary Charge of sending *Ambassadors* to others, being concurrent and mutual *Civilities* among Princes.

That these are the causes of the Kings wants, and not his irregular Bounty, though a *magnificent* mind is inseparable from the Majesty of a King. If he did not give, his *subjects* and *servants* would live in a *miserable Climate*; And for his Bounty to those that were not born among us, it must be remembred, he

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was born among them; and not to have them taſte of the bleſſing he hath attained, were to have him change his *Vertue* with his *Fortune*. Therefore they deſire the Kings wants may be ſupplied; a thing eaſie to be granted, and not to be valued by Wiſe-men, nor ſpoken of without contempt. *Philoſophy* ſaith, that all *Riches* are but *food* and *rayment*, the reſt is *nugatorium quiddam*: And that it is but *purior pars terræ*, and therefore but *craſſior pars aquæ*, a thing unworthy the *denial* to ſuch a King who is not only the wiſeſt of Kings, but the very *Image* of an *Angel*, that hath brought good tidings, and ſetled us in the *fruition* of all good things. He whoſe depth of Knowledg as well as Conſcience, deſerves the Title of *Fidei defenſor*; whoſe *numerous Iſſue* makes Foreign Princes ſtudy to keep their own, not look abroad. He that hath ſhut the back-door of the Kingdom, and placed two Lions, a red and a yellow to ſecure it; who would have us live under our own *Olive*, that we may *lætari & benefacere*. That none will wonder at the Want, or ſtartle at the ſupply, but ſuch as ſtudy to ſerve their own turns, and believe nothing but what they find written in the *ſtories* of their own *ignorance*. Among which thoſe are to be reckon'd, who (hearing of an *Order* to bind up the printed *Proclamations* in a book, that the better notice may be taken of the things contained in them) have raiſed a bruit, that it was intended this *Parliament* to make *Proclamations* equal to the *Laws*, which never entred into the Kings heart; who is ſo far from governing by *will* and *power*, that he will yield to any *motion* from them, wherein they ſhall hold a juſt *Diameter*, and proportion among themſelves, and obſerve thoſe *Duties* due to a great and gracious King.

Thus theſe Lords did pleaſe themſelves and the King, by ſtriving to keep the people in the milky way of *Obedience*, which they had long ſuckt in, and found the *ſweet* of it tending to nouriſhment, not yet meeting any Callous, or Brawny-conſtitution (which muſt harden them by degrees) nor yet finding their own Tempers grown Robuſt enough, by ſo harſh a *diet* as afterwards they met with. They therefore are willing to go on in the way pointed out to them, as *Pupils* follow their *Maſters*, minding rather the *ſmoothneſs* of the Tract they ſaw, than the roughneſs of the end. Yet ſome of them, whoſe *hopes* were not ſo high mounted, and their *ſpirits* more; ſpoke plainly, *That the whole wealth of* England *would not ſerve the Kings vaſt Bounty*; therefore it was a vain thing to give him, that would give it away again: That Gold and Silver in *Edenburgh* now in our *Solomons* time are like the *ſtones* in the *ſtreets*, never ſo much glittering there, like a perpetual *ſpring-time*. Beſides they look upon the Kings incroachments upon the publick *liberty*, by undermining the *Laws*, taking notice of ſome expreſſions

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expreſſions that fell from him publickly at his dinner, in derogation of the *Common Law*, extolling highly the *Civil Law* before it; and approving a Book lately written by Doctor *Cowell*, a Civilian, againſt it: Which netled our great *Lawyers*, that had not ſome of them been raiſed ſo high, that they could not with that *Court-gag* look downwards, it had bred a conteſt.

The High-Commiſſion a grievance.

The *High-Commiſſion* alſo began now to ſwell into a Grievance, which the *Parliament* complained of. Seldom is *Authority* and *Power* exerciſed with *Moderation*: Every man muſt conform to the *Epiſcopal* way, and quit his hold in *Opinion*, or ſafety. That *Court* was the Touch ſtone to try whether men were *metal* for their *ſtamp*; and if they were not ſoft enough to take ſuch impreſſions as were put upon them, they were made *malleable* there, or elſe they could not paſs current. This was the beginning of that *miſchief*, which when it came to a full ripeneſs, made ſuch a bloody Tincture in both Kingdoms, as never will be got out of the *Biſhops* Lawn ſleeves. And though theſe Apples of ſtrife thrown in the way did a little retard the courſe in hand, yet they carried not the prize: For the King according to his old wont (like a cunning *Hunter*) when they began to run counter, called them off, and at *White-hall* by one of his *Lectures* he ſtrives to bring them into the way again; By laying himſelf open as in a Glaſs, wherein, if they could not *ſee* his *heart*, they might *ſcent* out his *meaning*, and ſo follow the chace which was to be purſued.

The Kings Speech to both Houſes.

He tells them, though the Kings *heart* be in the hands of the Lord, yet he will ſet it before the eyes of the people: Aſſuring them that he never meant to govern by any Law, but the Law of the Land; though it be diſputed among them, as if he had an intention to alter the Law, and govern by the abſolute Power of a King. He knew, ſaid he, the Power of Kings, reſembling it to the *Power Divine*: For as God can create and deſtroy, make and unmake at his pleaſure, ſo Kings can give *life* and *death*, judg *all*, and be judged of *none*. They can exalt low things, and abaſe high things, making the *ſubjects* like men at *Cheſs*, a *pawn* to take a *Biſhop* or a *Knight*. (But he left out the power of a Pawn to take a Queen, or check a King). And when he had raiſed the Kings *power* to the height, with *Vos dii eſtis*, he brings them down again, with, *They ſhall die like men*: And that all Kings who are not *Tyrants* or perjur'd, will bound themſelves within the limits of their Laws, and they that perſwade them the contrary, are *Vipers* and *Peſts* both againſt them and the Common-wealth. Yet as it is *Blaſphemy* to diſpute what God may do, ſo it is *Sedition* in *Subjects* to diſpute what a King may do in the height of his *power*. And as he will not have his *ſubjects* diſcourſe of what he may do, ſo he will do nothing

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thing but what shall be *consonant* to *Law* and *Reason*. Then he strives to mitigate the sharpness of the words dropt from him at his Table to the *disparagement* of the *Common Law*, and assures them, though he likes the *Civil Law* very well, as being *Lex Gentium*, which maintains intercourse with foreign Nations, and fitted to the *Ecclesiastical Courts*, *Court* of *Admiralty*, and *Courts* of *Request*, yet he is so far from disavowing the *Common Law*, that he protests, if he were to chuse a new *Law* for this Kingdom, he would prefer it before any other *National Law*, yea, the *Law of Moses*, nay, without *blasphemy*, the very *Law* of *God*. Then he recalls himself, and tells them, That though for this *Nation* he had preferred the *Common Law* to the *Law* of *God*, yet it is inferiour to the *Judicial Law*: For no Book, or Law is free from *corruption*, but the Book and Law of God.

And therefore he could wish that three things specially were purged out of *Common Law*.

First, That it were written in the *vulgar Tongue*, and made plain to the peoples understanding, that they might know what to obey, that the *Lawyers* in the *Law*, like the *Romish Priests* in the *Gospel*, might not keep the people in *ignorance*.

Secondly, That the *Common Law* might have a setled Text in all *Cases*, for being grounded upon old *Customs*, *Reports*, and *Cases* of former *Judges*, called *Responsa prudentum*, which are not binding (for divers times *Judges* disclaim them, and recede from the *Judgment* of their *Predecessors*) it were good upon mature deliberation, that the Exposition of the Law were set down by Act of Parliament, that the people might know what to depend upon.

Thirdly, There is in the Common Laws divers contrary *Reports* and *Precedents*, and divers *Statutes* and *Acts* of *Parliament*, that do cross one another, being so penned, that they may be taken in divers *senses*, therefore he could wish, they might be reviewed, and reconciled. And whereas he is thought an *Enemy* to *Prohibitions*, he saith he is not ignorant of the *necessity* of them, if every *stream* might run in its own *chanel*, but the overflowing, and super-abundance of them, in every Court, striving to bring most grist to their own Mill, was a distemper fit to be cured, therefore he did not disallow the Use but the Abuse.

Then he closes with the House of Commons, and not only thanks them for the *Bonefire* they made of certain Papers which were presented *Grievances* from some discontented *murmuring spirits*, but he instructs them how to receive *Grievances* hereafter: In which he would have them careful to avoid three things.

The first, That they meddle not with the main points of *Government*,

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vernment, that is his *craft*, *Tractent fabrilia fabri.* To meddle with that were to leſſen him, who hath been thirty years at the Trade in *Scotland*, and ſerved an Apprentiſhip of ſeven years here, therefore here needs no *Phormios* to teach *Hannibal.*

Secondly, He would not have ſuch ancient Rights as he hath received from his *Predeceſſors* accounted *Grievances*, that were to judg him unworthy to injoy what they left him.

And laſtly, That they ſhould be careful not to preſent that for a *Grievance*, which is eſtabliſhed by a *Law*; for it is very undutiful in *Subjects* to preſs their King wherein they are ſure to be denyed. *Complaints* may be made unto them of the *High-Commiſſioners*, let the abuſe appear then, and ſpare not, there may be *errors* among them, but to take away the *Commiſſion* is to derogate from him, and it is now in his thoughts to rectifie it in a good proportion.

Then he ſhews the emergent cauſe of his great expences, ſince his coming to the Crown, which makes him deſire a ſupply from them, confirming what the *Lords* formerly delivered; wherein he ſaid, when they opened his *neceſſities* unto them, his *purſe* only *labour'd*, now his *deſires* are taken notice of both at home and abroad, his *Reputation labours* as well as his *Purſe*; for the *World* will think it want of *love* in them, or *merit* in him, that both leſſen'd their *hearts*, and tied up their *hands* towards him.

Thus the King expreſſed himſelf to the Parliament, deſiring their aſſiſtance, aſſuring them he had no intention to alter the *Government*, though he wiſhed the *Laws* might be rectified. But his *King-craft* (as he calls it) failed in ſtriking at the *Common Law*, and he was convinced in it, how dangerous it was to give too much knowledg to the *people*; the two great *Hammers* of the *State*, the *Church-man* and *Lawyer*, that work the people to obedience, upon the two Anvils of *Conſcience* and *Policy*, beat him to the underſtanding of it, ſo that ever after he joyned with them, and that three-fold Cord was not eaſily diſſolved. But the times not being ripe yet to produce any thing but the fruits of *obedience*, they after this Leſſon ſetled themſelves to make divers good Laws, which they purchaſed at the rate of a Subſidie and a Fifteen.

A Proclamation againſt new buildings.

About this time, the *Suburbs* betwixt *London* and *Weſtminſter*, had many ruinous Piles of Building, which Age had worn out, and Induſtry, and Riches (the two great ſupporters of this *momentary Eternity*) did ſtrive to renew. Among the reſt the *Lord Treaſurer* erected out of the *rubbiſh* of the old *ſtables* of *Durham-houſe*, a goodly *Fabrick*, to be *Rival* to the *Old Exchange*, which the *King* by his *preſence* dignified with the name of *Britains Burſe.* But he took notice of the ſwelling Buildings upon new



From a Drawing by Hollar — In the Pepysian Library at Cambridge

DURHAM HOUSE — SALISBURY HOUSE — WORCESTER HOUSE.

The three Houses above represented, stood on the banks of the Thames nearly adjoining each other. **DURHAM HOUSE**, the first in the Plate, occupied the spot called **DURHAM YARD**, now the **ADELPHI**, and was built by Ant.y Bec, Bish.p of Durham, as a town residence for the Bishops of that See. **SALISBURY HOUSE** was erected by Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, in the reign of James 1. and covered the site of the present Salisbury and Cecil Streets. **WORCESTER HOUSE**, originally belonged to the See of Carlisle, It afterwards came into the possession of the Earls of Worcester, Edw.d the last Earl of Worcester died here in 1627, His son Hen.y being created, Duke of Beaufort, it was called **BEAUFORT HOUSE**, and the Site is now called **BEAUFORT BUILDINGS**. The above View was taken about the year 1630.



Natus a.ᵒ 1562, 26 Maÿ. obÿt a.ᵒ 1609, 25 Martÿ, ætatis ſuæ annᵒ 46. menſ. 9. die 25.

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new *foundations*, which he looked upon as a Rickety *conſtitution* in the Head of the Kingdom, being Inviters of a Flux of *humours*, and *diſeaſes*, to be near the Court; beſides, he feared the Plague would come too near *whitehall*, if that Diſtemper increaſed. And therefore he carefully, with mature deliberation of his *Council*, forbids all New Buildings to be ſet up for the *future*, within two miles of the City; and by *Proclamation* ſtrictly commands if any be, they ſhall be pulled down, though not taken notice of till ſeven years after. Whereby many men (that did not ſo well heed the *Proclamation*) laid out their whole *eſtates* upon little *Hovels*, and building fair *houſes* upon *new foundations* (though it were but two yards from the *old*) they became *Treſpaſſers*, and muſt either purchaſe their houſes again at a dear rate, or pull them down, both ways tending to their ruin; thus falling under the ſtroke of the *times* rough hand, without a providential care of the danger that would follow: For what was ſo ſtrictly forbidden then, was permitted after; and thoſe *reaſons* that cauſed the reſtraint then (the increaſe of the *Plague*) were found upon better experience to be a *remedy*; for there was more room, and better air to prevent it, among thin and ſingle *families*, than full-crouded *houſes*. And this *ſevetity* had a ſecond *conſideration*, which was, to prevent the greatneſs of the *Body* of the *Kingdom* from ſwelling to be all *Head*, when the *Head* it ſelf wanted ſo much increaſe of *Building*, as to plump, and make thoſe thin parts appear more round and beautiful, which was then a *diſgrace*, but is now an *Ornament* to both *Cities*. So that what the *wiſdom* of one time doth decry, the *experience* of another may advance: Such is the *Worlds* career! And they are only miſerable, whoſe imprudence, or ill luck, puts them in the way to be over-run by it.

The Siege of *Juliers*.

This year 1609. begot a Truce betwixt the King of *Spain*, and the Low Countries; yet by the *death* of the Duke of *Cleve*, the War was like to revive again: For while two petty *Princes*, *Brandenburgh* and *Newburgh*, ſtrove for the inheritance, *Spain*, like the *Vulture* in the *Fable*, attempted to catch it from both, ſeizing upon *Juliers*, one of the chief Strengths of the *Country*; which the States of the *Netherlands*, by the help of our King, and *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, beſieged, and recovered again. Sir *Edward Cecil*, Brother to the Earl of *Salisbury*, commanded four thouſand *Engliſh* at that Siege, whoſe Conduct gave Life to his Soldiers Valour, and that advanced the *Glory* of his *Conduct*. But where ſuch fiery Spirits are congregated into a *Body*, there will be often violent and thundring *eruptions*. Sir *Hatton Cheek* was next Commander to Sir *Edward Cecil*, a Man of a gallant and daring *courage* in the difficulteſt enterpriſes; who ſpeaking to Sir *Thomas Dutton* (one of the Cap-

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tains under his Command) ſomewhat haſtily, *Dutton* diſdaining to be ſnapt up (being a man of a crabbed temper) returned as hot an anſwer, which broke into a flame: But *Dutton* quenched it, by telling Sir *Hatton Cheek*, *He knew he was his Officer, which tied him in the Army to a ſtrict Obedience, but he would break that Bond, and vindicate himſelf in another place*: And inſtantly quitting his Command, he went for *England*.

A Duel betwixt Sir *Hatton Cheek*, and Sir *Thomas Dutton*.

Some ſmall time after the taking of *Juliers*, *Cheek* fell ſick; and his *diſtemper* was the greater, becauſe he had heard *Dutton* ſtrove to defame him, both in Court and City: for being full with *paſſion*, he vented it with freedom enough in every place. *Cheek* being recovered, and heart-whole, would not give time to his decayed limbs to ſuck in their old vigor, but ſends to *Dutton* that threatned him, to give an account of the large expence of his tongue againſt him; *Dutton*, that waited for ſuch a reckoning, willingly accepted the Summons: *Cheek* took *Pigot*, one of his Captains, to be his Second; *Dutton* took Captain *Goſnald*, both Men of well-ſpread fame; and they four met on *Calais* Sands: On which dreadful Stage, at firſt meeting, *Dutton* began to expoſtulate his *injuries*, as if a Tongue-Combate might decide the *Controverſie*; but *Cheek* would diſpute it otherwiſe. Then their Seconds ſearching, and ſtripping them to their Shirts in a cold morning, they ran with that fury on each others Sword, as if they did not mean to kill each other, but ſtrive who ſhould firſt die. Their Weapons were *Rapier* and *Dagger*, a fit Banquet for *Death*. At the *firſt courſe*, *Cheek* ran *Dutton* into the neck with his *Rapier*, and ſtab'd him in the neck backward with his *Dagger*, miraculouſly miſſing his windpipe; And at the ſame inſtant, like one *motion*, *Dutton* ran *Cheek* through the Body, and ſtab'd him into the back with his left hand, locking themſelves together thus with four bloody *keys*, which the Seconds fairly opened, and would fain have cloſed up the bleeding *difference*: but *Cheeks* wounds were deadly, which he finding, grew the *violenter* againſt his *Enemy*; and *Dutton* ſeeing him begin to ſtagger, went back from his *fury*, only defending himſelf, till the others *rage* weakned with loſs of *blood*, without any more hurt, fell at his feet. *Dutton*, with much difficulty recovered his *dangerous* wounds, but *Cheek* by his Servants had a ſad *Funeral*, which is the *bitter fruit* of *fiery paſſions*.

Henry the 4. of *France* ſtab'd by *Raviliac*.

The next year was *fatal* to *Henry* the Great of *France*, who (in the *height* of his *Glory*, when he had impt his *Wings* with a Mighty *Army*, and a Maſs of *Treaſure*, and none knew which way his *towring ſpirit* would fly) was ſtopt by a horrid hand, that with a poyſoned knife cut out his paſſage to another *World*: Such poor and penetrable things are *Kings*, as well as other *Men!* And when in this *Worlds Sea* they have toyled their *ſpirits*, in a

continued



HENRY IIII ROY DE FRANCE ET DE NAVARRE. Fils d'Anthoine de Bourbon Roy de Nauarre et de Ieanne d'Albret son Espouse. Nasquit a Pau lan 1553. ou il fut esleue en la Religion pretendue reformee. Il Espousa en prem. nopces Marguerite de France soeur vnique du Roy Charles IX. 1572. apres la mort duquel Henry III son Frere luy succedant, Vit son Royaume si diuise par les factions de la Ligue, quil accepta les secours du Roy de Nauarre. Heritier presomptif de sa Couronne, qui prodigua sa personne en toutes les rencontres et les Batailles quil donna, en combattant les fauteurs de cette rebellion. lesquels desesperans de leur salut assasinerent leur Roy, par les mains de F. Iacques Clement Iacobin 1589. Le sceptre francois escheant par sa mort au Roy de Nauarre. Monarque belliqueux, la perle des guerriers, et dont la vie est le miroir des grands Roys. S. M. comenca son Regne par labiuration de l'Heresie a S. Denis en France 1593. et fut sacree a Chartres 1594. Les Batailles de Iarnac 1569. de Coutras 1587. d'Arques 1589. d'Iury 1590. et Fontaine françoise, sont les tesmoins irreprochables de son incomparable Valeur, qui furent les grands chemins et les veritables portes par ou ce grand Prince entra armé glorieusement dans Paris 1594: ou come un bon Pere il reünit les coeurs de ses bons subicts, par la douceur de sa Clemence. Les Espagnols le redoutans, receurent de S. M. la paix de Veruins 1598. La Reine sa Femme estant sans Enfans, Il fut trouue expedient pour lutilite publique de le Roy son Espoux conuoleroit en 2. nopces. come il fit auec Marie de Medicis: du consentem.t de sa Ma.te par dispence de l'Eglise 1600. qui a donné a la france tant de souuerains et souueraines, quils ont comandé a la plus noble partie de l'Europe. Mais les ennemis de nostre repos ne voyans point de tour pour vaincre ce grand Monarque par la force, quil meditoit leur royne: reueillerent toute leur rage, et comme ils l'auoient desia exitee diuerses fois contre la personne du Roy. nottamm.t Par les mains de Iean Chastel escolier, qui luy porta un coup de cousteau au Visage 1594. Ils employerent de rechef le plus inhumain de tous les paricides, l'abominable Rauaillac, qui donna un autre coup de cousteau au coste de S. M. dont elle mourut 1610: son Corps gist a S. Denis. La France na iamais iouy de tant de bonheur que les 10 annees de Paix quelle luy procura, pendant lesquelles Elle decora Paris de superbes Edifices. La gr. Galerie du Louure, l'Hostel de Ville, la place Royalle, le Pont neuf et nomb. dautres, en portent les glorieuses marques

A Paris chez Darret auec priuil. du Roy 1633

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continued *Tempeſt* of *fond Hopes*, and built upon the Sand their vaſt deſires, either old Age doth waſh them quite away, or elſe ſome ſudden *ſtorm* makes them caſt Anchor upon the ſhores of *death*, and there's an end. But one *Act* of *Providence* is very remarkable towards him, as a Fore-runner of this enſuing *miſchief*. When he came firſt to the Crown (which he (as it were) ſnatched out of the fire, the whole Kingdom being in a flame) he was a profeſſed *Proteſtant*, ſo born, and ſo bred up: but finding himſelf in a *tottering condition* among his *Popiſh* Subjects, for his better *ſecurity*, he did ſomething comply with them in *Eccleſiaſtical* affairs, which gave great *ſcandal* to the *Reformed*, yet did not much advance him in the good opinion of their *Oppoſites*. For the *Jeſuits* unconfident of him (inclining more to the *hot zeal* of *Spain*) one of their Inſtruments ſtab'd him into the *mouth* with a knife, without much hurt. Which done, an intimate of his, that came to viſit him, told him plainly, that the Hand of *God* was much ſeen in this *Action*; for he had now denied the *Truths* of *God*, and the *Religion* he ſuckt in with his *milk*, but from the teeth *outward*, and therefore this puniſhment came to him as a warning: But let him take heed of denying it with his *heart*, for if he did, (it is to be feared) God would ſtrike him there alſo: Both which were too much manifeſted. So ſuitable often are *Gods Judgments* to our *Sins*!

The *venom* of this *blow* reached preſently into *England*: and came ſomewhat near our Kings Heart; therefore he took the beſt way to prevent his Fears, by ſtriving to prevent his Dangers, having no other *end* but his *own*. For when he conſidered the horridneſs of the *Powder Plot*, and by it the irreconcileable *malice* of that *Party*, he thought it the ſafeſt *policy*, not to ſtir thoſe Aſhes, where ſo much Fire was covered; which gave way to a flux of that *Jeſuitical humour* to infeſt the Body of the Kingdom.

A Proclamation againſt Jeſuits.

But now being ſtartled with this poyſoned knife, he ventures upon a *Proclamation*, ſtrictly commanding all *Jeſuits* and *Prieſts* out of the Kingdom, and all *Recuſants* to their own Houſes, not to come within ten miles of the *Court*; and ſecures all the reſt of his Subjects to him, by an univerſal taking of the Oath of *Allegiance*; which the *Parliament*, both *Lords* and *Commons*, (then ſitting) began, and the reſt of the People followed, to the Kings great contentment.

For the laſt *Seſſion* the *Parliament* was prorogued till the ſixteenth of *October* this year; and meeting now, they were willing to ſecure their *Allegiance* to the King out of *Piety*; yet they were ſo ſtout (even in thoſe youthful days, which he term'd *Obſtinacy*) that they would not obey him in his incroachments upon the *Publick Liberty*, which he began then to practiſe. For

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being now ſeaſon'd with ſeven years knowledg in his profeſſion here, he thought he might ſet up for himſelf, and not be ſtill *journy-man* to the *laviſh* tongue of men, that pryed too narrowly into the *ſecrets* of his *Prerogative*, which are *myſteries* too high for them, being *Arcana imperii*, fitter to be admired than queſtioned: But the *Parliament* were apprehenſive enough, that thoſe hidden *myſteries* made many dark ſteps into the Peoples Liberties, and they were willing by the light of *Law* and *Reaſon*, to diſcover what was the Kings, what theirs; Which the King unwilling to have ſearched into (after five *Seſſions* in ſix years time) diſſolved the *Parliament* by *Proclamation*.

Prince *Henry* created Prince of *Wales*.

Prince Henry, the prime branch of this *Royal Cedar*, now growing Manly (being the ſixteenth year of his *Age*) put forth himſelf in a more *Heroick* manner than was uſual with *Princes* of his Time, by Tiltings, Barriers, and other exerciſes on horſeback, the Martial Diſcipline of gentle *Peace*, which caught the peoples *eyes*, and made their *tongues* the Meſſengers of their *hearts*, in daily extolling his hopeful and gallant towardlineſs to admiration. And now the King thought him full of ripeneſs for the *Honour* of *Knighthood* (which admitted of a willing contribution from the people, and ſuch old Cuſtoms as bring in money are never out of date) and (to add the more *ſplendor* to his ſparkling youth) created him Prince of *Wales*, (as he formerly intimated to the Parliament) with all the *pomp* and *ſolemnity* that a great King could expreſs to a hopeful Son, his firſt born; or the *merit* of a Prince (that floated in the peoples affections) could poſſibly attain to. For as yet the King could diſcover nothing in him but that harmleſs and wanton innocency that commonly accompanies youth, being of a light *nature*, and ſoon blown away. But how far the Kings *fears* (like thick clouds) might afterwards blind the *eye* of his *Reaſon*, when he ſaw him (as he thought) too high mounted in the peoples *love*, and of an alluring *ſpirit*, to decline his paternal affection to him, and bring him to the *low condition* he fell in, may be the *ſubject* of my *fears*, not of my *pen*. With this Ingrandizing Title the King added a great Revenue, eſtabliſhing alſo a full and ſplendent Retinue and Family to attend his perſon at St. *James*, now appointed to be the Princes Court, where this *new Star* placed in the *third Houſe*, might be feared to *culminate*, and become *Lord* of the *Aſcendant*: His *Palace* being as gloriouſly attended with young and ſprightly Bloſſoms, as the Kings was with older, and more ſage Plants. And now the King deliberates for a Wife for him, and ſends to Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, his *Lieger Ambaſſador* in *Spain*, to treat with that King for his eldeſt Daughter. But after ſome traverſes, it was found there was more time loſt than ground gotten: For Princes


R: White fculp.
HENRICUS
Princeps Walliæ etc.ª



Reverendiſsimus in Christo Pater D.D.
RICHARDUS BANCROFT Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis.

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ces in Treaties lie at the *ſnap*, and the moſt backward often gets the better of it. But the King being not ſo hot then for this, as he was after for the other Son, with another Siſter (the eldeſt being matched into *France*) made a quicker, and a more *honourable Retreat*.

Bancroft Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* dies.

About this time *Richard Bancroft*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, died; a perſon ſevere enough, whoſe roughneſs gained little upon thoſe that deſerted the *Ceremonies*. One work of his ſhewed his *ſpirit* better than the ruggedeſt Pen can depaint it: For it was he that firſt brought the King to begin a new Colledg by *Chelſey*, wherein the choice and ableſt *Scholars* of the Kingdom, and the moſt pregnant *Wits* in matters of *Controverſies*, were to be aſſociated under a *Provoſt*, with a fair and ample allowance, not exceeding three thouſand pounds a year, whoſe *deſign* was to anſwer all *Popiſh Books*, or others, that vented their *malignant ſpirits* againſt the *Proteſtant Religion*, either the *Hereſies* of the *Papiſts*, or the *Errors* of thoſe that ſtrook at *Hierarchy*, ſo that they ſhould be two-edged *Fellows*, that would make old cutting and ſlaſhing; and this he forwarded with all induſtry during his time; and there is yet a formal Act of Parliament in being for the eſtabliſhment of it. But after his death the King wiſely conſidered, that nothing begets more contention than *oppoſition*, and ſuch *Fuellers* would be apt to inflame, rather than quench the *heat* that would ariſe from thoſe *embers*: For Controverſies are often (or for the moſt part) the exuberancies of Paſſion; and the *Philoſopher* ſaith, men are drunk with *diſputes*, and in that *inordinateneſs* take the next thing that comes to hand to throw at one anothers faces; ſo that the deſign fell to the ground with him; and there is only ſo much Building ſtanding by the *Thames*-ſide, as to ſhew, that what he intended to Plant, he meant ſhould be well Watered, and yet it withered in the bud. I can lay nothing to the charge of this great man, but from common fame; yet this I may truly ſay, That for his Predeceſſor *Whitgift*, and his Succeſſor *Abbot*, I never heard nor read any thing tending to their diſparagement: But on him, ſome unhappy *Wit* vented this *Paſquin*,

7 Regis.

Here lies his Grave in cold Earth clad,
Who died with want of what he had.

The Queen was Miſtreſs of *Somerſet-houſe* (as well as the Prince was Maſter of St. *James*) and ſhe would fain have given it the name of *Denmark-houſe*, which name continued her time, among her people, but it was afterwards left out of the common *Calender*, like the dead Emperors new named *Month*. She was not without ſome *Grandees* to attend her for outward *glory*: The Court being a continued *Maskarado*, where ſhe and her

Masks in great eſteem.

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her Ladies, like ſo many *Sea-Nymphs*, or *Nereides*, appeared often in various *dreſſes* to the *raviſhment* of the *beholders*. The King himſelf being not a little delighted with ſuch fluent *Elegancies*, as made the *nights* more glorious than the *days*. But the *latitude* that theſe high-flying *fancies*, and more ſpeaking *Actions*, gave to the lower World to judg and cenſure, even the greateſt with *reproaches*, ſhall not provoke me ſo much as to ſtain the innocent Paper. I ſhall only ſay in general, That Princes, by how much they are greater than others, are looked upon with a more *ſevere eye*; if their *Vertues* be not ſuitable to their *Greatneſs*, they loſe much of their *value*: For it is too great an allay to ſuch *refinedneſs* to fall under the *common cognizance*.

Pembroke a favourite. *Mountgomery* a favourite.

As ſhe had her *Favourites* in one place, the King had his in another. She loved the elder Brother, the Earl of *Pembroke*; he the younger, whom he made Earl of *Mountgomery*, and Knight of the *Garter*: But either not finding him ſuitable to his *humour*, or *affections*, or ſeeing another *object* more delightful, his *fancy* ran with a violent *ſtream* upon a young Gentleman, who had neither Parts nor Birth to entertain ſuch a current. His name was *Robert Car*, born about *Edenburgh* in *Scotland*, deſcended from Gentry of that name, a young man about twenty years of Age, a comely perſonage, mixt with a handſom and Courtly *garb*, which he had been practiſing in *France*, and lately came over; Sir *James Hayes*, ſome ſay the Lord *Dingwell*, at a Tilting (among the reſt of the Pages and Gentlemen that in their richeſt ornaments attended him for that days Triumph) made choice of Mr. *Car* (according to the cuſtom) to preſent his *Shield*, and *Device* to the King; and as he was deſcending, the Horſe full of *fire* and *heat*, prevented him, threw him down before the King, and broke his *leg*. This accident gave the King occaſion to take notice of him, and hearing that his name was *Car*, remembred he had a Page of that name when he came firſt into *England*, which this proved to be: For the Pages the King brought firſt with him, according to the *French* way to wait upon his Coach, were diſcharged, and Footmen according to the *Engliſh* way ſupplied thoſe places. The King muſtering up his thoughts fixt them upon this *object* of *pity*, giving ſpecial *order* to have him lodged in the Court, and to have his own *Phyſicians* and *Chyrurgions* uſe their beſt endeavours for his *recovery*. The King viſited him often during his neceſſitated reſtraint, ſometimes an hour or more diſcourſing with him, to ſound him, and know what he was; and though he found no great depth of *Literature* or *Experience*, yet ſuch a ſmooth and calm outſide, made him think there might be good Anchorage, and a fit Harbor for his moſt retired thoughts. As ſoon as he recovered (which the King with ſome impatience attended)

Car a favourite.



Philip Earle of Pemb: & Mong:
Lord Chamberlaine to ye King. etc.

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tended) he made him Knight, and Gentleman of his *Bed-Chamber*, took the pains himſelf to teach him the Latin Tongue, and laid a Foundation, by his daily diſcourſes with him, to improve him unto a capability of his more indeared affections.

Now all addreſſes are made to Sir *Robert Car*, he is the *Favourit* in *Ordinary*; no ſute, nor no reward, but comes by him; his hand diſtributes, and his hand reſtrains; our *Supreme Power* works by *ſecond Cauſes*; the Lords themſelves can ſcarce have a ſmile without him. And to give the greater *luſtre* to his *power*, about this time the Earl of *Dunbar*, the Kings old truſty Servant (the *Cabinet* of his ſecret *Counſels*) died; ſo that he ſolely now took the moſt intimate of them into his *charge*, and the Officer of Lord high Treaſurer of *Scotland*, which ſtaff the other left behind him; and though it could be no great Supporter, yet the credit of it carried ſome reputation in his own Country, where it was his happineſs to be magnified, as well as in *England*; for he had *Treaſure* enough here, where the *Fountain* was. And to ingrandize all, the King *created* him Baron of *Brandſpech*, and Viſcount *Rocheſter*, and ſoon after Knight of the *Garter*. Thus was he drawn up by the Beams of Majeſty, to ſhine in the higheſt Glory, grapling often with the *Prince* himſelf in his own *Sphear*, in divers *Conteſtations*. For the *Prince* being a high born *Spirit*, and meeting a young *Competitor* in his Fathers Affections, that was a *Muſhrom* of yeſterday, thought the *venom* would grow too near him, and therefore he gave no *countenance*, but *oppoſition* to it; which was aggravated by ſome little *ſcintils* of *Love*, as well as *Hatred* (Rivals in *paſſion*) being both *amorous*, and in *youthful blood*, fixing by accident upon one *object*, *who* was a third *mans*; in which the Viſcount got the *Maſtery*, but to his *ruin*. The *Prince* ſhewing his affection, by his neglecting of her, to be grounded rather upon *envy* to the Man, than *love* to the Woman.

1612. Made Viſcount.

But before this time, the Treaſurer *Saliſbury*, that great Engin of the *State*, by whom all Wheels moved, held an intimate Correſpondence with the Houſe of *Suffolk*, which he had ſtrengthned with an Alliance; marrying his eldeſt Son, the Lord *Cranborn*, to *Katharine*, the eldeſt Daughter of that *Family*. And being mindful of the aſperity and ſharpneſs that was betwixt him, and the late Earl of *Eſſex*, he thought it a good *Act* of *Policy*, and *Piety*, not to ſuffer *Malice* to become *Hereditary*; and therefore he was a great *means* in marrying the young Earl of *Eſſex* to the Lady *Frances Howard*, another of thoſe *Siſters*, that the Fathers *Enmity* might be cloſed up by the Sons *Nuptial Fraternity*. The Earl of *Eſſex* was fourteen years of Age, and ſhe thirteen, when they married; too young to conſider, but old enough to conſent: Yet by the advice of Friends ſeparated after marriage, ſhe under her Mothers *wing*, and he viſiting *France*

The Earl of *Eſſex* marries the Lady *Frances Howard*.

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France and Germany, till Time should mature, and ripen a happy Co-union. The Court was her Nest, her Father being Lord Chamberlain; and she was hatched up by her Mother, whom the sour breath of that Age (how justly I know not) had already tainted; from whom the young Lady might take such a Tincture, that Ease, Greatness, and Court Glories, would more distain and impress on her, than any way wear out and diminish. And growing to be a Beauty of the greatest Magnitude in that Horison, was an Object fit for Admirers, and every Tongue grew an Orator at that Shrine.

The Prince of Wales now in his Puberty, sent many loving glances, as Ambassadors of his good respects, and amorous expressions are fit subjects for jealous reproaches to work on. Her Husband having been now three or four years beyond the Seas, (sick with absence from her whom his desires longed after) came over again, and found that Beauty, which he had left innocent, so farded and sophisticated with some Court Drug which had wrought upon her, that he became the greatest Stranger at home. His Patience made way for him a while, and he bore up with a gentle gale against the stream of this Womans affections, which ran altogether (unknown to him) into another chanel. Nor was her reputation yet become so robust (being of a tender growth) to strike his ears with reproaches, and therefore he imputed her sly entertainments to a Maiden bashfulness; till surfeted with that dull Potion (upon better advice) he went to the Earl of Suffolk (her Father) and demanded his Wife, thinking himself capable to enjoy both her and her love. The Father, that thought there had been an intimacy betwixt them, suitable to their Conjugal Knot, made use of his Paternal power, to reduce his Daughter to the obedience of a Wife. But while these things were strugling for, a most violent Disease of a poysonous Nature, imputed to, but far transcending the small Pox, seized on the Earl of Essex; and had not the strength of Youth, and that Almighty Power that orders all things, wrought out the venom of it, the Earth (as probably wished by her) had been his Marriage Bed.

The Countess of Essex in love with Rochester.

For this Lady being taken with the growing fortunes of the Viscount Rochester, and grounding more hope upon him, than the uncertain and hopeless love of the Prince, she cast her Anchor there; which the Prince soon discovered, and slighted her accordingly. For dancing one time among the Ladies, and her Glove falling down, it was taken up, and presented to him, by one that thought he did him acceptable service; but the Prince refused to receive it, saying publickly, He would not have it, if it is stretcht by another, meaning the Viscount: This was an aggravation of hatred betwixt the Kings Son and the Kings Friend.

The



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The Counteſs of *Eſſex* having her heart alienated from her Husband, and ſet upon the *Viſcount*, had a double task to undergo, for accompliſhing her ends. One was, to hinder her Huſband from enjoying her; the other was, to make the *Viſcount* ſure unto her: For diſhoneſt *Love* is moſt full of *jealouſie*. Her Husband ſhe looked upon as a private perſon, and to be carried by him into the *Country* out of her *element* (being ambitious of *glory*, and a Beauty covetous of *applauſe*) were to cloſe (as ſhe thought) with an inſufferable Torment, though he was a man that did not only every way merit her love, but he loved her with an extraordinary affection, having a gentle, mild, and courteous *diſpoſition*, eſpecially to women, ſuch as might win upon the rougheſt *natures*. But this fiery heat of his Wives mounted upon the *wings* of *Luſt*, or *Love*, (call it what you will) carryed her after ſo much miſchief, that thoſe that ſaw her *face*, might *challenge Nature* of too much *Hypocriſie*, for harbouring ſo wicked a *heart* under ſo ſweet and bewitching a *countenance*.

She conſults with Miſtriſs *Turner*.

To ſtrengthen her deſigns ſhe finds out one of her own *ſtamp*, Mrs. *Turner*, a Doctor of Phyſicks Widow, a woman, whom Prodigality and Looſeneſs had brought low, yet her Pride would make her fly any pitch, rather than fall into the jaws of *Want*. Theſe two conſult together how they might ſtop the current of the Earls affection towards his Wife, and make a clear paſſage for the *Viſcount* in the place. To effect which, one Doctor *Forman*, a reputed *Conjurer* (living at *Lambeth*) is found out: The women declare to him their *Grievances*, he promiſes ſudden *help*, and to amuſe them, frames many little Pictures of Braſs, and Wax, ſome like the *Viſcount* and *Counteſs*, whom he muſt unite and ſtrengthen; others like the Earl of *Eſſex*, whom he muſt debilitate and weaken; and then with *Philtrous* powders, and ſuch *drugs*, he works upon their perſons. And to practiſe what effects his *Art* would produce, Mrs. *Turner*, that loved Sir *Arthur Manwaring*, (a Gentleman then attending the Prince) and willing to keep him to her, gave him ſome of the *powder*, which wrought ſo violently with him, that through a ſtorm of Rain and Thunder, he rode fifteen miles one dark night to her Houſe, ſcarce knowing where he was till he was there. *Such is the deviliſh and mad rage of Luſt, heightned with Art and Fancy.*

And *Forman* about it.

Theſe things matured and ripened by the cunning of this Jugler *Forman*, gave them aſſurance of *happy hopes*. Her Courtly invitements, that drew the *Viſcount* to obſerve her, ſhe imputed to the operation of thoſe *drugs* he had taſted; and that harſhneſs, and *ſtubborn comportment* ſhe expreſſed to her Huſband, making him (weary of ſuch entertainments) to abſent himſelf, ſhe thought proceeded from the effects of thoſe un-

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The Earl of *Eſſex* gets his Wife to *Chartley*.

known *potions* and *powders*, that were adminiſtred to him: So apt is the Imagination to take impreſſion of thoſe things we are willing to believe.

The good Earl finding his Wife nouſled in the *Court*, and ſeeing no *poſſibility* to reduce her to *reaſon*, till ſhe were eſtranged from the relliſh, and taſt of the *delights* ſhe ſuckt in there, made his *condition* again known to her Father. The old man being troubled with his Daughters *diſobedience*, imbitter'd her being near him, with weariſome and continual *chidings*, to wean her from the *ſweets* ſhe doted on, and with much ado forced her into the Country. But how harſh was the *parting*, being rent away from the place where ſhe grew and flouriſhed? Yet ſhe left all her *Engines* and *Imps* behind her; the old *Doctor*, and his Confederate Mrs. *Turner*, muſt be her two *ſupporters*: She blazons all her miſeries to them, at her depart, and moyſtens the way with her tears. *Chartley* was an hundred miles from her *happineſs* and a little time thus loſt is her *eternity*. When ſhe came thither (though in the pleaſanteſt time of Summer) ſhe ſhut herſelf up in her Chamber, not ſuffering a beam of *light* to peep upon her *dark thoughts*: If ſhe ſtirred out of her Chamber, it was in the dead of Night, when ſleep had taken poſſeſſion of all others, but thoſe about her. In this implacable, ſad, diſcontented *humour*, ſhe continued ſome moneths, always murmuring againſt, but never giving the leaſt *civil reſpect* to her Husband, which the good man ſuffered patiently, being loth to be the divulger of his own *miſery*: yet having a manly *courage*, he would ſometimes break into a little *paſſion*, to ſee himſelf ſleighted and neglected by *himſelf*, but having never found better from her, it was the eaſier to bear with her.

She writes to *Forman*.

While ſhe was at *Chartley* ſhe writ to her Confederates, That *Her Husband found little operation in their Drugs, complaining of his Luſtineſs, and her Miſery*: *For* (ſhe ſaid) *the Viſcount would never love her, if her Husband did meddle with her, which with difficulty ſhe yet impeded, but how long ſhe ſhould reſiſt his Violence ſhe knew not, therefore ſhe implored their aſſiſtance, if they would not ſee her the moſt deſpicable creature in the world*: *And for ſatisfaction they ſhould make their own price.* With this kind of ſtuff ſhe filled her Letters, which were after found in *Formans* Cloſet. Theſe inſtigations made him active, and the man being skilful in *natural Magick*, did uſe all the *Artifice* his *ſubtilty* could deviſe, really to imbecillitate the Earl; for no Linnen came near his body, that was not rinſed with their *Camphire Compoſitions*, and other faint and waſting ingredients, and all Inward applications were foiſted on him by corrupted ſervants, to leſſen and debilitate the *ſeminal operations*. Which *Veneficium* is one great part of *Witchcraft*, deſtructive to *nature*, and horridly



Robert Earle of Essex his Excellence Generall of the Army etc:

horridly abominable to be practiſed. And this in time wrought ſuch effects upon his *perſon*, that he found himſelf unable with her, though ſhe permitted him; yet when he had been from her ſome reaſonable *Time*, to renovate his *ſpirits*, by ſhaking off thoſe artificial *applications*, then his abilities made her unwilling, and refractory. Though ſome are of *opinion*, that he was not much *debilitated*, but that ſhe got (by her *vertuous Agents*) an *Artifice* too immodeſt to be expreſt, to hinder *Penetration*. And thus ſhe tormented him, till he was contented to let her ſteer her own *courſe*, which after run her on *ground*.

She comes again to Court.

For coming to *London* next *Winter* with this *full ſail*, loaden with *luſt*, ſhe found the *Viſcount* much prepared for her; who being at firſt faſtned on the *Object*, abſence, and all thoſe *little Artifices*, that miſchievous *Women*, and cunning *Impoſtures* could deviſe, had advanced him as much in his *deſires*, as they had hindred the other. We could diſpute the Nature of theſe *Operations*, how far they are Contingent, and how the fancy works with them, though ignorant of them, making their impulſions more active, being the *ſparks* that kindle this *combuſtible matter*; for we will never allow there was any other *Diabolical* means uſed, *Nature* being ſtrong enough for ſuch a *production*; but being not pertinent to the *Story*, will leave it, and follow them that found the *effects* of it, and had *affections* ſuitable to it, which they made uſe of with an unbridled *appetite*, yet meeting cloſely in *corners* (*Sin* being at firſt ſhamefaced) but afterwards they grew more bold; and every hour that the *Viſcount* could ſteal from his *Royal Maſter*, he dedicated it to his *Diſloyal Miſtris*; being caught in this Net of *Adulation*, he becomes a willing *Priſoner*; *Luſt* only getting *liberty* to all looſeneſs and licentiouſneſs: *Places* of frequent Meetings are daily renewed, *Perſons* fitted for ſuch practices are employed; and when *Nature* was exhauſted, *Art*, her ſubtil Imitator, brought in her ſtore, to contribute new *Spirits*, purchaſed at any rate. All outward Adornment to preſent *Beauty* in her full *Glory*, were not wanting on both ſides, being *Luſts fuel*, which tended to the *Conſumption* of all *Reaſon*. And among the reſt, *yellow ſtarch*, the invention and foyl of *Jaundice Complexions*, with great Cut-work *Bands*, and *Piccadillies* (a thing that hath ſince loſt the name) crouded in, and flouriſhed among us, Mrs. *Turner*, being nominoted to be the firſt *Contriver*, happily in *England*, but the *Original* came out of *France*; which faſhion and colour did ſet off their lean ſallow countenances. Thus did the *Viſcount* get the *Conqueſt* of two, the *King*, and this *Lady*, but could not ſubdue his own *luſtful Appetite*.

The Lord *Sanquir* murthered a Fencer.

The Wheel of *Fortune* running towards the *Scots*, turned by the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, was unhappily diverted upon the Lord *Sanquir*, a Baron of that Nation, and married to a good *Family* in

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England: who ſome years before meeting with a ſturdy *Fencer*, one *John Turner*, who was a Maſter of the Weapon-Trade, in his own School, the young Lord ſtrove to put ſome affront upon him (making it no little *Conqueſt* to diſgrace a Maſter in the *Art*, as they termed it) and the man apprehenſive of the Attempt, with a bold *rudeneſs* preſt ſo hard upon him, that he thruſt out one of the *Barons* eyes. This buſineſs was much regretted by *Turner*, and the *Baron* being *conſcious* to himſelf that he meant his *Adverſary* ſome ill, took the Accident with as much *patience*, as men that loſe one eye by their own default, uſe to do for the *preſervation* of the other. Some time after, being in the Court of the late great *Henry* of *France*, and the King (courteous to Strangers) entertaining diſcourſe with him, askt him, how he loſt his eye; he (cloathing his anſwer in a better *ſhrowd* than a plain *Fencers*) told him, it was done with a *Sword*: The *King* replies, Doth the man live? And that queſtion gave an end to the *Diſcourſe*, but was the beginner of a ſtrange *Confuſion* in his working *Fancy*, which neither Time nor Diſtance could compoſe; carrying it in his *breaſt* ſome years after, till he came into *England*, where he hired two of his *Country-men*, *Gray* and *Carlile* (men of low and mercenary *ſpirits*) to *murther* him, which they did with a *Caſe* of *Piſtols* in his own Houſe in *White-Fryars*; many years after the loſs of his *bodily eye*, thus the *Baron* loſt the *eye* of his *Reaſon*. This *bold nefarious Act* was very deeply reſented at *Court*, and the Kings Commands were ſo active for apprehenſion of the *murderers*, that they were all three taken; one upon the Borders of *Scotland*, ſo far had his fears carried him; another in a Ship bound for *Hamburgh*, who ſcaping in a Storm, the *Seas* delivered up; and the *Lord* himſelf being obſcured (in this Tempeſt of his *Soul*) hearing a thouſand pound was offered to bring his Head (ſo liberal was the *King* for *Juſtice*) threw himſelf into the *Arms* of his *Mercy*, by the *mediation* of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, to whom he preſented himſelf an *Object* of *pity*: but no interceſſion could prevail, their lives ſatisfied the *Law*, the *Baron* not having the *honour* of a *Noble death*.

Is hanged.

Cauſes of the Kings ſeverity.

The Cauſe of the Kings *ſeverity* (if *juſtice* may be called *ſeverity*) was contrary to that of the *Barons* preſumption; for he thought the *Scots* might do any thing, and he ſuffered becauſe they had done ſo much. For *Ramſey*, one of the Kings Servants, not long before had *ſwitcht* the Earl of *Mountgomery*, who was the *Kings* firſt *Favourite*, happily becauſe he took it ſo. *Maxwell*, another of them, had bitten *Hawley*, a Gentleman of the *Temple*, by the Ear; which inraged the *Templers* (in thoſe times Riotous, and ſubject to Tumults) and brought it almoſt to a *National Quarrel*, till the *King* ſtept in, and took it up himſelf. The Lord *Bruſe* had ſummon'd Sir *Edward Sackvill*, (who was after



Edward Earle of Dorset. Lord Chamberlaine to y^e Queene &c.

Sould by Robt: Peake .

after Earl of *Dorſet*) into *France* with a fatal *complement* to take *death* from his hand, ſuch killing *civilities* theſe times produced! And the much lamented Sir *James Stuart*, one of the Kings blood, and Sir *George Wharton*, the prime branch of that noble Family, for little worthleſs punctillioes of *Honour* (being intimate friends) took the Field, and fell together by each others hand. Theſe, and many more private differences (though ſome of them of an ancient date) were bleeding freſh in *memory*; ſo that the King, like a wiſe Phyſician, opened this vein of blood, hoping by it to ſtop all other iſſues.

Salisbury not pleaſed with the Viſcounts greatneſs.

The Kings affections were not ſo monopolized, but that his crafty Servant the Earl of *Salisbury*, had a good hole as well in his *Councils*, as *Treaſure*. And being not well pleaſed to ſee himſelf bearded by a Youth new ſtarted into the affairs of the World, and mounted by the *wing* of *love*, not of *merit*; he caſt out many *miſts* before him, to hinder and damp his paſſage ſo, that the *Viſcount* could not riſe to that pitch (during his life) that he afterwards arrived at. And one thing among the reſt he obſtructed was five thouſand pounds the King had given him to maintain his Riot: Which ſum the Treaſurer thought too great a bulk to be carried lightly away, and therefore he deſired the King might ſee what he did. And having layd the money in Silver upon Tables in his Gallery at *Salisbury-houſe*, he invited the King to dinner, making this the paſſage to his entertainment. The King ſtrucken ſuddenly with ſuch *heaps*, asked the Treaſurer what this money was for; who told him, he had received his Majeſties Commands to give ſo much to the Viſcount *Rocheſter*. The King that either careleſly thought five thouſand pound to be no more than the noiſe ſo much makes in *Scotland* (which doth not amount to above five hundred pounds) or, cunningly (if he knew the value, knew alſo the Treaſurers meaning) ſaid it was too much for one man, and made him be contented with leſs than the half.

The Queen of *Scots* tranſlated to *Weſtminſter*.

And now the King caſts his thoughts towards *Peterborough*, where his Mother lay, whom he cauſed to be tranſlated to a Magnificent Tomb, at *Weſtminſter*. And (ſomewhat ſuitable to her mind when ſhe was living) ſhe had a tranſlucent paſſage in the night, through the City of *London*, by multitudes of Torches: The Tapers placed by the Tomb and the Altar, in the *Cathedral*, ſmoaking with them like an *Offertory*, with all the *Ceremonies*, and *Voices*, their *Quires* and *Copes* could expreſs, attended by many Prelates and Nobles, who payd this laſt Tribute to her *memory*. This was accounted a *Piaculous action* of the Kings by many, though ſome have not ſtuck to ſay, That as Queen *Elizabeth* was willing to be rid of the Queen of *Scots*, yet would not have it her *action*, and being it could not be done without

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without her command, when it was done ſhe renounced her own *act*. So though the King was angry when he heard his Mother was taken away by a violent death, recalling his Ambaſſador, threatning War, and making a great noiſe (which was after calmed and cloſed up with a large *Penſion* from the Queen) yet he might well enough be pleaſed that ſuch a *ſpirit* was layd, as might have conjured up three Kingdoms againſt him: For *Patrick Grey* that the King ſent to diſſwade Queen *Elizabeth* from taking away his *Mothers life*, was the greateſt *Inſtrument* to perſwade her to it; Diſtilling always into her this Sentence, *Mortua non mordet*, When ſhe is dead ſhe cannot bite; But the Love that tends to *ſelf-preſervation*, is an adjunct of Nature, more powerful than *Filial duty*, and therefore there will be no great ſtrife where there are not adequate operations,

The *Palatins* arrival 16. *Octob.*

This time was alſo preſented unto us in a various dreſs, and the *event* ſhewed (though ſome years after) there was more cauſe of Mourning than Rejoycing, though the latter got the *predominance*: For the *Prince Elector Palatine* came over into *England* to Marry the Kings only Daughter, and Death deprived us of the Kings eldeſt Son. A Prince as eminent in *Nobleneſs* as in *Blood*, and having a *ſpirit* too full of *life* and *ſplendour* to be long ſhrouded in a *cloud* of *fleſh*. If that which gave life to his life had been leſs, he might happily have lived longer: Not that there was too much Oyl, or that concurrent *Natural Balſamum* in this fair and well-compoſed *Lamp* to extinguiſh it ſelf, but the *light* that came from it might caſt ſo *radiant* a *luſtre*, as (by darkning others) it came to loſe the *benefit* of its own *glory*. *Jealouſie* is like fire that burns all before it, and that fire is hot enough to diſſolve all Bonds, that tends to the diminution of a Crown. The Prince of *Spain* (his contemporary) Son to *Philip* the ſecond (not long before this) like a young *Phaeton*, wiſhed himſelf but one day in his Fathers Throne, and he fell (not long after) into the hard hand of an immature *fate*, before he could ſtep into the *Chariot*. So dangerous are the paths of Greatneſs, that the tongue (many times) rouling aſide, makes men tread awry. Strange Rumors are raiſed upon this ſudden expiration of our Prince, the diſeaſe being ſo violent, that the *combate* with *Nature* in the ſtrength of *youth* (being almoſt nineteen years of age) laſted not above five days. Some ſay he was poyſoned with a bunch of Grapes, others attribute it to the venemous ſcent of a pair of Gloves, preſented to him (the diſtemper lying for the moſt part in the head.) They that knew neither of theſe, are ſtrucken with *fear* and *amazement*, as if they had taſted, or felt, the *effects* of thoſe *violences*: Private *whiſperings*, and *ſuſpicions*, of ſome new *deſigns* a foot, broaching *Prophetical terrors*, *That a black*

Prince *Henry's* death 6. *Nov.*

His gallant ſpirit.

Chriſtmas


CARLO D'AV
STRIA PR
INCIPE DI SPAGNA
YO, Y MI HERMANO.

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Chriſtmas would produce a bloody Lent. For the *Spaniard*, who oppoſed the marriage of the Prince *Palatine*, and ſaw their *ruin* growing up in Prince *Henries* towardly *Spirit*, were reputed (vulgarly) the *Mint-maſters* of ſome horrid *practices*; and that a Ship of *Pocket Piſtols* was come out of *Spain*, fit Inſtruments for a *Maſſacre*. And theſe *Trepidations* were not only in the lower *Region*, but wrought upwards, ſo high, that *Proclamations* were ſent abroad, to forbid the making or carrying of *Piſtols*, under a foot long in the *Barrel*. And all *Papiſts* are not only diſ-armed (being ever eſteemed *Vaſſals* to the *Catholick King*) but their *Actions* with *caution* pried into. In ſuch dark *clouds* as theſe, the whole Kingdom was at a loſs; all ordinary Tranſitions of *Nature*, are imputed to *prodigious Omens*; the greater the *fears* are, the more blazing is the *Meteor* that ariſes from them.

Some that knew the *bickerings* betwixt the *Prince* and the *Viſcount*, muttered out *dark Sentences*, that durſt not look into the *light*; eſpecially Sir *James Elphington*, who (obſerving the *Prince* one day to be diſcontented with the *Viſcount*) offered to kill him: but the *Prince* reproved him with a gallant *Spirit*, ſaying, If there were Cauſe he would do it himſelf. Now whether theſe *rumors* begot a further *ſcrutiny*, or whether it be the *Court*-trick to daub and ſlubber over things that may be perſpicuous, I know not: But the *Phyſicians* about the *Prince* gave it under their hands (which was ſpread abroad in *ſeveral copies*) that he died of a ſtrong malignant *Feaver* (ſo are all violent diſſolutions, where *Nature* hath power of *reſiſtance*) that his *Liver* was *pale*, and *livid*, *lead-like*; the *Gall* had no *Gall*, but was full of *wind*; the *Spleen* was unnaturally black, and the *Lungs* in many places ſpotted with much *corruption*; the *Midriff*, or *Diaphragma*, blackiſh; and the *Head* in ſome places full of blood, and in ſome places full of clear water. Thus was he Anatomized to amuze the *World*, and clear the ſuſpicion of *poyſon*, as if no *venoms* could produce theſe *effects*. He died the ſixth of *November*, and was carried on a *Hearſe* (*Triumphing even in Death*) to *Weſtminſter*, the ſeventh of *December* following; the *pomp* of the *Funeral* being fully *compleated*, with the People *tears* and *Lamentations*.

His Funeral.

But the *King* (though he could not but be troubled to loſe ſo near a part of himſelf) looked over all theſe *Miſts* and (like the *Sun*) diſpelled all theſe *Clouds* and *Vapours*; commanding, no man ſhould appear in the *Court* in *mourning*; he would have nothing in his *Eye*, to bring ſo ſad a Meſſage to his *Heart*. The *jollity*, *feaſting*, and *magnificence* of *Chriſtmas*, muſt not be laid down. There were *Princes*, and *Nobles*, that came out of *Germany* with the prince *Elector*, that muſt ſee the *Glory* of the *Engliſh* Court; which was preſented with ſo much *eminency* in gorgeous

Mourning laid aſide.

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Knights of the Garter made.

gorgeous *Apparel*, that the precedent *mourning* was but as a *ſable foyl*, the better to illuſtrute it.

The Prince Elector *Palatine*, and *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, were made Knights of the *Garter*, *Lodowick* Count of *Orange* being *Maurice*'s Deputy; and Prince *Maurice* took it as a great *honour* to be admitted into the *fraternity* of that *Order*, and wore it conſtantly: Till afterwards, ſome *Villains* at the *Hague*, that met the Reward of their Demerit (one of them a *French man*, being Groom of the *Princes Chamber*) robbed a *Jeweller* of *Amſterdam*, that brought *Jewels* to the *Prince*, this Groom tempting him into his Chamber to ſee ſome *Jewelr*, and there with his Confederates they ſtrangled the man with one of the *Princes* blew *Ribonds*; which being after diſcovered, the *Prince* would never ſuffer ſo fatal an Inſtrument to come about his Neck.

The Prince *Palatine* married to the Lady *Elizabeth*.

In *February* following, the Prince *Palatine*, and that lovely *Princeſs*, the Lady *Elizabeth*, were married, on Biſhop *Valentines* Day, in all the *Pomp* and *Glory* that ſo much *Grandure* could expreſs. Her *Veſtments* were white, the *Emblem* of *Innocency*; her *hair* diſhevil'd, hanging down her back at length, an *Ornament* of *Virginity*; a Crown of pure Gold upon her *head*, the *Cognizance* of *Majeſty*, being all over beſet with pretious *gems*, ſhining like a *Conſtellation*; her *Train* ſupported by twelve young *Ladies* in *white Garments*, ſo adorned with *Jewels*, that her Paſſage looked like a milky way. She was led to Church by her Brother Prince *Charles*, and the Earl of *Northampton*; the Young *Batchelor* on the right hand, and the Old on the left. And while the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was ſolemnizing the Marriage, ſome eruſcations and lightnings of *joy* appeared in her Countenance, that expreſſed more than an *ordinary ſmile*, being almoſt elated to a *laughter*; which could not clear the *Air* of her *Fate*, but was rather a fore-runner of more ſad and dire *Events*: Which ſhews how ſlippery *Nature* is, to tole us along to thoſe things that bring danger, yea ſometimes deſtruction with them.

She returned from the Chappel between the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Earl of *Notingham* Lord High Admiral, two married Men. The *Feaſtings*, *Maskings*, and other *Royal Formalities*, were as troubleſome ('tis preſum'd) to the *Lovers*; as the *Relation* of them here may be to the *Readers*: For ſuch *ſplendor* and *gayety* are fitter to appear in *Princes Courts*, than in *Hiſtories*.

The City of *London* (that with high magnificence had feaſted the Prince *Palatine*, and his *Noble* Retinue) preſented to the *fair Bride* a Chain of *Oriental Pearl*, by the hand of the Lord *Mayor*, and *Aldermen* (in their Scarlet and Gold Chain Accoutrements) of ſuch a value, as was fit for them to give, and her


GUILIELMUS LUDOVIC. COMES A NASSAU / CATZENELNB: VIANDEN ET DIE.



Fredericus Rex Bohemie.



Elisabetha Regina Bohemia

B Monnornet fc

Michel van Lochem ex:

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her to receive. And the people of the Kingdom in general, being ſummoned to a *contribution* for the *Marriage* of the Kings Daughter, did ſhew their affections by their *Bounty*. And though it be the *cuſtom* of our Kings to pay their Daughters *Portions* with their *ſubjects purſes*, yet a hundred years being almoſt paſt ſince ſuch a *precedent*, it might have made them unwilling (if their *obedience* had not been full *ripe*) to recall ſuch *obſolete* things, as are only in practice now by the meaneſt of the people.

The Prince *Palatine* returns home with the Princeſs.

But, tired with Feaſting and Jollity, about the middle of *April*, when the *beauties* of the *Spring* were enticing enough to beguile the tediouſneſs of the way, the *Prince Elector* willing to review, and the *Princeſs* to ſee what ſhe was to injoy; After all the *careſſes*, and ſweet *embraces*, that could be between the King, Queen, and Princes, that were to be ſeparated ſo long, and at ſuch a diſtance; And after all the Shews, Paſtimes, Fire-works, and other *Artifices* that could be deviſed, and maniſeſted, they parted at *Rocheſter*; The Lord Admiral being ready with a Royal Navy in the *Downs* for their paſſage and conduct. The *ſeaſon* ſmiled on them, and they arrived the nine and twentieth of the Moneth in *Fluſhing*. The Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Viſcount *Liſle*, and the Lord *Harington*, with divers Ladies and perſons of Quality, attended them to *Heydelburgh*. Their entertainment was great and magnificent in the *Low-Countries*, not only ſuitable to the Perſons, but the place from whence they came, (The *Engliſh* having been ever a *Bulwark* to the *Netherlands*) and now they were in full *peace* with *Spain*, which gave the better *relliſh* to their *Banquetings*. And in every eminent *Town* in *Germany* as they paſſed, they found that *welcom* which prolonged their time, but made their travel the leſs, ſo that with much ado they reached *Heydelburgh*. And after ſome time ſpent there, to ſee the *beauties* and *delights* of that Court, and Country (which were extended and put forth to the uttermoſt) the Nobility and Ladies of *England* returned home, only they left the Lord *Harington* behind them, who dyed by the way: A Gentleman much lamented in his own perſon, but much more in his Sons (who not long after ſurvived him) with whom were buried, not only thoſe excellent indowments that make Noble-men *great* indeed, but the *memory* of a *noble Poſterity*, which makes them little, or indeed nothing at all.

Rocheſter rules all.

The Viſcount *Rocheſter* all this while (though plunged in *Luſt*) was held up by the *chin* in the *glories* of the *Court*; and the Prince (that interpoſed betwixt him and the *beams* of *Majeſty*) being removed, the Earl of *Salisbury* (another *obſtacle*) dying ſix months after the Prince, in the way from the *Bath*: he now took full poſſeſſion of the Kings favours alone. He exe-

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cutes the place of *Principal Secretary*, receiving all *Pacquets*, and dispatching Answers without the knowledg of the King or Council, or if the King did know, his *love* had hoarded up such a *confidence* in him, as he laid all out upon that *stock*. *Rochester*'s greatest assistant was a private Gentleman, one Sir *Thomas Overbury*, by whose *Compass* he steered his *course*, who (being a man of *parts* and *abilities*) had wrought upon the Viscount so, as not only to keep him in, and close with the King, but to make him capable of managing the highest affairs, if he had kept himself within the *Circle* drawn to his head. This *intimacy* betwixt them, spake *Overbury* an *actor* in all his *privacies*. And when he understood by the Viscount his intention of *Marriage* with the Countess of *Essex*, he opposed it with all the *powerful Arguments* he could use: For though he might be so *active*, in his *initiation* of *favour* with the Viscount, to be assistant to his pleasures, and for carrying forward some of his dark contrivances (those *Secretaries* being always the greatest *favourites*) yet having now gotten good footing in his affection, and building his *fortune* thereon, his *reason* might tell him, there could be nothing more destructive to both their growing *hopes*, than to lay a *foundation* upon so much *publick Injustice*, as to marry another Mans Wife, her Husband living; therefore he passionately perswaded him to cast his thoughts upon a more *honorable object*, and not on one, whose disloyalty (in her *present condition*) was so much branded with *infamy*, that the marks of it would be visible on his face. But the *Viscount* bewitched with the inticements of his *soul-ravishing Mistris*, (uncapable of good *counsel*) doth not only call home his affections from *Overbury*, that had been long *lieger* with him (denouncing enmity) But incites his *Beloved* against him also; who mustering up all her *passions*, with the greatest *acrimony* that a *feminine malice* could devise, she never left, till she had discharged all the *vollies* of her *rage* upon him. And the better to do it, she consults with her Uncle the Earl of *Northampton*, aggravating *Overburies* offence, as tending to the *dishonour* of their whole *Family*. That he (a petty fellow) should dare to raise such *scandals* against her innocency. The Earl of *Northampton*, that knew of the indearments betwixt the *Viscount* and his *Niece* (so base and mercenary was his *spirit*) thought it good policy to stop all passages, that it might not come into the *publick* mouth: For being in a *sphere* elated above others, it was a sin of a high presumption for any of a inferior *orb* to move but in its own place, or meddle with what is above them. He therefore closes with the *Viscount* (whom in his flattering acclamations by Letters he makes a little *Deity*) and after some dispute of the manner how to be revenged of *Overbury*, they conclude to dispatch him by poyson, which could not be done so well in a publick way,

Assisted by *Overbury*.

Rochester and *Northampton* plot *Overburies* death.



Harding del. Clamp Sc.

HENRY HOWARD.

Earl of Northampton.

From an Original Picture in the Collection of

Mr. Harding



The liuely Portraiture of the worthy Knight Sir William Wadd late Lieutenant of the Tower &c.

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way; and therefore they ſubtilly contrive to exaſperate the King againſt him, that being a Priſoner, and ſhack'led by them to a place, he might be a more ſetled mark for their envenomed Arrows.

Rocheſter betrays *Overbury*.

About the ſame time, the King thinking fit to ſend an *Ambaſſador* into *Flanders*, to the *Arch-Duke* (ſome ſay, into *France*) the Viſcount recommended Sir *Thomas Overbury* to the King for that Service (extolling his abilities, and fitneſs for the ſame, publickly, that more notice might be taken of the affront) and the King made choice of him for that Imployment. Which done, the Viſcount (under the ſhadow of *friendſhip*) imparts to *Overbury* what intentions the King had towards him; but he thought it would not be ſo convenient for him to accept of it, becauſe he ſhould not only loſe his *converſe*, and *company*, by ſuch an alienation (which he highly valued) but many a fair *opportunity* of improving his *reſpects* to him, in ſome better way of advancement. *Overbury* had not been ſo little a *Courtier*, or a man of ſo mean Reaſon, but that he was ſenſible what *diſpleaſure* he ſhould pull upon himſelf, by refuſing the Kings Commands; And therefore he told the Viſcount, that betwixt the Kings *favours*, and his *friendſhip*, he had a great *conflict* in his *ſpirit*, being willing to retain both; but how he ſhould refuſe the Kings commands with *ſafety*, he knew not. But the Viſcount, with fair *promiſes*, prevailed with him to ſet up his reſt at home, upon higher expectations (*ſuch a ſweet bait is Ambition!*) proteſting to take off the aſperity of the Kings anger from him, and ſmooth his way ſo, as ſhould be for his better advantage. When he had wrought *Overbury* in this *forge*, he goes to the King, and blows the *fire*, incenſing him with all the aggravations he could; ſo that the poor *Gentleman*, for his *contempt*, was forthwith committed to the *Tower*. And to prepare all things for his *reception* there, Sir *William Wade*, the late Lieutenant, was removed; and Sir *Jervis Ellowis*, a Perſon more ambitious, than indigent (having made his way by money, the *common merit*) was admitted to the *place*.

The Counteſſes deſigns.

Now the Counteſs, like another *Alecto*, drove furiouſly; her *Chariot* having two wheels, which ran over all impediments: One was, to ſue a *Divorce* betwixt her and her Husband, that ſhe might marry the *Viſcount*: The other was, to take away *Overbury*, the blemiſh in her Eye, and that laid ſuch a ſtain upon her, that nothing but his blood could expiate. For theſe ſhe hath ſeveral *Engins*; the one muſt be acted *Overtly*; the other *Covertly*, in dark Corners; and ſhe and her *Agents* find fit *Miniſters* for both.

Northampton joyns with her.

The Earl of *Northampton* reſenting his *Nieces* grievances, makes the King acquainted with her Maiden baſhfulneſs, how loth ſhe is to divulge her Husbands infirmities, and how long

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it is ſince her Marriage, and yet ſhe hath not enjoyed the happineſs of a Wife; that her Husbands inability muſt needs be an unnatural *conjunction*, ſuch as neither *Law* nor *Reaſon* can admit of; and that there was a great affection betwixt the *Viſcount* and *her*, ſo as there ſeemed to be a more excellent *ſympathy*, and ſweet *compoſition* of *Soul* in them, more ſuitable *Reaſon* and *Nature*, than in the ſtate ſhe was in. Which was ſeconded by the *Viſcounts* humble *ſubmiſſions* to the Kings great *wiſdom*, who (he acknowledged) had not only raiſed him to what he is, but may yet make him more happy, by uniting him to a *Lady* of ſo much *honour* and *vertue*.

The King, that took delight to compleat the *happineſs* of them he loved, commanded the *Biſhops* to ſue out a *Divorce* between the Earl of *Eſſex*, and his *Lady*, that the *Viſcount* might marry her: For he had been practiſed formerly in *Scotland*, in his minority, with the like *experiment*. *Elizabeth* Daughter to the Earl of *Athol*, being married to the Earl of *March*, under pretence of *impotency*, but meerly for *luſt* (as the Author reports) was Divorſed from her Husband, and married to the Earl of *Arran* (the Kings Favourite) who had been before a Partner in her *Adulterous Sheets* (ſo current is the *Parallel*, and ſo equally are *luſt* and *ambition* yoked together, that they both (with full *violence*) draw one and the ſame way,)

Rob. Johnſtons Hiſt. of Scotland.

The *Biſhops*, and others, having a *Commiſſion* under the great Seal of *England* to convent the Earl of *Eſſex*, and his *Counteſs*, before them, ſent out their *Summons*, and they made their appearance accordingly. But before they proceeded, they cauſed a *Jury* of twelve diſcreet *Matrons* to be impannelled, to ſearch the *Counteſs*, whether ſhe were (as ſhe pretended to be, and was reputed) a Maid ſtill; for if ſhe were a Maid, they could faſten upon a Nullity, and ſo ſeparate them, for the more honour of her *Virginity*. The Counteſs being aſhamed, and baſhful, to come to ſuch a Tryal, would not expoſe her *face* to the *light*; but being to appear before the *Matrons* under a *Veil*, another young Gentlewoman, that had leſs offended, was fobbed into the place; and ſhe paſſed, in the opinion, both of *Jury* and *Judges*, to be a *Virgin*. Then the Articles were drawn up, where ſhe accuſed her Husband of *impotency* (and that he was hindred with a *perpetual* and incurable impediment, whereby he is unable to have *carnal copulation* with her, with *frigiditas quoad hanc*, often reiterated, &c.) The good Earl, willing to be rid of ſo horrid a *miſchief*, did acknowledg he had attempted to enjoy her many times, but he never did, nor could *carnally* know her, and believed he never ſhould. Upon theſe Grounds the *Judges* proceed to a *Divorce*.

'Declaring,

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The Countess divorsed from her Husband.

'Declaring, That *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, and the Lady *Frances* '*Howard*, contracted by shew of Marriage, did cohabit in one 'House, and lie together in one Bed, *Nudum cum Nuda, & Solus* '*cum Sola*; and that the said Lady *Frances* did shew her self 'prompt, and ready to be known of him; and that the said 'Earl neither did, nor could have knowledg of her, although 'he did think himself able to have knowledg of other *women*. 'And that the said Lady *Frances*, by inspection of her *Body* by '*Midwives*, expert in matter of Marriage, was proved to be 'apt for *carnal copulation* with *Man*, and yet a *Virgin*. Therefore 'we the said *Judges* deputed in the Cause, first invocating the 'Name of Christ, and setting God before our eye, do pro-'nounce, decree, and declare, That the Earl of *Essex*, for some 'secret, incurable, binding impediment, did never carnally 'know, or was, or is able carnally to know, the Lady *Frances* '*Howard*: And therefore we do pronounce, have decreed, and 'do declare, the pretended Marriage, so contracted, and solem-'nized, *de facto*, between them, to have been, and to be utterly 'void, and to no effect; and that they did want, and ought to 'want the strength of the Law. And that the Lady *Frances* was, 'and is, and so ought to be free, and at liberty, from any Bond 'of such pretended Marriage, *de facto*, contracted and solemni-'zed. And we do pronounce, that she ought to be Divorsed, and 'so we do free, and Divorce her; leaving them, as touching o-'ther Marriages, to their Conscience in the Lord. Which our 'Definitive Sentence, and Decree, we ratifie and publish.

Thomas, Wint. *Lancel.* Elie. *Rich.* Coven. & Lichfield.
John Roffe, Bishops.
Julius Cæsar, *Thomas Parry*, *Daniel Dun*, Knights.

These Bishops, and the rest of the Judges, could not be ignorant what *scandalous reports* of this Ladies *actions* flew up and down, from lip to lip; which however sweetned by the *Partakers*, carried an ill savour with them in every honest understanding, who were not blinded with wilfulness, or deafned with prejudice, which made the Bishops of *Canterbury*, and *London*, decline the business, though nominated in the *Patent*. But Kings will never want fit *Ministers* in corrupted Times, both in *Church* and *Common-wealth*, as long as there are *Degrees*, and *Places* of *Ascent* to clime to. And though these things floated a-while upon the *Stream* of *Greatness*, yet there is *One* above that moves the *Waters*, who did not only see what passed in the Bishops *Palace*, but in the closest *Prison*, which he discovered to the *shame* and *ruin* of the *Actors*.

For

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Mrs. *Turner* imployed to poyſon *Overbury*.

For while this Wheel was turning at *Lambeth*, the other Wheel had its motion in the *Tower*. Mrs. *Turner*, the Miſtriſs of the *Work*, had loſt both her *ſupporters*: *Forman*, her firſt prop, dropt away ſuddenly by *death*; and *Greſham* another rotten *Engin* (that ſucceeded him) did not hold long: She muſt now bear up all her ſelf. But ſhe wrought in a *Mine* of inexhauſtible *Treaſure*, therefore ſhe may buy *inſtruments* at any *rate*. One *Weſton* is thought on for this *Under-work*, who was ſometime Doctor *Turners* (her Husbands) man, and hath a little experience in the nature of poyſonous Drugs. This venomous Plant is ſent for out of the Country to be tranſplanted here, and two hundred pounds promiſed to diſperſe his *Venom*, ſo as it may be killing. Sir *Thomas Monſon* is made by the Counteſs to recommend him to Sir *Jervis Ellowis*, and he to Sir *Thomas Overbury* to wait on him; where he goes under the *character* of a right honeſt man, making it good with a ſober and fair *outſide*, the true *vizard* of *Hypocriſie*, a fit *Pipe* for ſuch corrupted *Waters* to run through; which muſt be provided by one *Franklin*, a ſwarthy, ſallow, crooked-backt fellow, who was to be the *Fountain* whence theſe bitter waters came.

The Lieutenant of the Tower ingaged in it.

But *Overburies* meat muſt be dreſſed in the Lieutenants *kitchen*, and therefore it is neceſſary to make him acquainted with it; which the Earl of *Northampton* undertook, ſmoothing him with ſuch *language*, and promiſing him ſuch *rewards*, as he thought fitteſt to gain upon him; *Aſſuring him that it would be an acceptable ſervice to the King to have him removed*, being an inſolent, and pernicious fellow (as he called him) of a *factious* and *dangerous ſpirit*, and therefore adviſed him to be *cautious* in admitting any to ſee him, leſt his *paſſions* ſhould vent themſelves and become *publick*. The Lieutenant being a man intelligent enough, could not but apprehend the dangerous *path* he trod in purſuing this buſineſs: For if he ſhould make the King acquainted with it, to know more of his *mind*, before it were done, and he diſclaim it, *Northampton* was powerful enough to cruſh him on the one ſide; and if it ſhould be diſcovered after it were done, he might be ſure the King would not own it, and it would bring him a certain *ruin* on the other ſide: betwixt theſe two *extremes* he knew no *mean*, and therefore he took that which tended (as he thought) to moſt ſafety, hoping that the Earl of *Northampton* had ſome higher *Authority* for the ſame. And now they begin to put their deſign in *practice*; *Franklin* furniſhes *Weſton* with *materials*, compounded to conſume *Nature* inſenſibly; but this was not quick enough, *Malice* muſt be as active, as cunning! ſtronger Ingredients are infuſed, which *Weſton* having received from the Counteſs by his Son, he meets the Lieutenant as he carried up *Overburies* meat, ſaying to him, *Sir, ſhall I give it him now*? The Lieutenant askt him, *What*?

Weſton



From an extra rare Print by R. Elstracke.

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Weſton anſwered, *Sir, you know what is to be done.* The Lieutenant that would not have it known that he knew any thing, gave him a *check*, and would not underſtand his *meaning*; or at leaſt would have him take notice that he underſtood it; for he thought that his *connivance* would not bring him within the *compaſs* of the *fact* (and for the *guilt* he could diſpenſe with it well enough) and therefore his part of *Working* was only not to ſeem to know what was done. *So ſubtily ſometimes men ſtrive to couſen themſelves.*

Their poyſons ſet a work.

But theſe *lingring operations* do not ſuit with the Counteſſes implacable *humor*, *Weſton* is chid by Mrs. *Turner* for being ſo *ſlow*. But he that knew he might be too *active*, kept on his old pace, as the only way to have it paſs unſuſpected, aiming at his own *preſervation*, as well as *Overburies deſtruction*. He gets therefore (by the help of *Franklin*) ſeveral ſorts of poyſons, tempering them with his broaths, and every bit of *meat* he eat, that he might diminiſh by *degrees*; for his very *Salt* was mixt with *white Mercury*: And beſides theſe, Sir *Thomas Monſon* ſent Tarts and Jellies of the Counteſſes and Mrs. *Turners* compoſition (by ſome of his ſervants) to *Weſton*, for the better expedition. Thus was the poor Gentleman tortured and rackt in a horrid *diſtemper*, who being *young*, and of a *ſtrong conſtitution*, was able to *grapple* a long time with theſe *corroding Tormentors*: But his body being not always able to bear it, at length he fell extreme *ſick*, and having no friend that could, or durſt *viſit* him, none to complain to but the cauſers of his *miſery* (ſuch ſtrict *guards* were kept about him) he languiſhed both in *body* and *mind*. But ſome friend by accident taking the advantage for a *viſit*, and finding him very ſick, procured him a wholſom *Gliſter*, which *Weſton* was willing enough to have adminiſtred, becauſe he would not be too quick, and that retarded the work, by carrying away ſome of the *poyſonous matter*. Which *Northhampton* hearing, the Lieutenant was checkt for being ſo careleſs, and commanded that none ſhould come near him, being fearful leſt the *deſperateneſs* of his *condition* ſhould make him reveal ſome thing of *high concernment*, that had been *machinated* among them. And Mrs. *Turner* rebuked her Miniſter *Weſton*, for looking no better to his charge, ſo that they dealt with him now upon a new account.

The Counteſs got looſe from her Husband grows wanton in her *proſperity*. *Nature* is *unbounded* where neither *Law* nor *Grace* doth *limit*. The good Earl of *Eſſex* muſt repay the *Portion*, to do which he is forced to ſell *Benington* in *Hartford-ſhire*, a very gallant *ſeat*, and glad he is rid of a *Torment* at any *rate*. She now mounted on her *Car* drives over all *oppoſitions*, her *Beauties* ſhine in the Court (as ſhe would have it) ſhe is the Kings *Favourite*, as well as her *Husband*; the *glories* of her Marriage muſt

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Rocheſter made Earl of *Somerſet*, 4. *Nov.* married 5 *Dec.* following.

muſt appear there, and ſhe is a fit *gift* for the King to beſtow, he that took her away from one Hurband, can give her to another, who muſt be of equal rank to her, that ſhe may not deſcend, therefore he is Created Earl of *Somerſet*; and all the ſplendid *Equipage*, and magnificent *Preparation*, that can either fill a Court with *delight*, or People with *admiration*, are not wanting for the Marriage. She thinking all the World ignorant of her ſly *practices*, hath the impudence to appear in the habit of a *Virgin*, with her hair pendant almoſt to her feet; which *Ornament* of her Body (though a fair one) could not cover the deformities of her Soul: But theſe, and her high Elations, are Clouds to her Conſcience, that (though her *Bauds* might for her) her indeed lovely *Cheeks* did not betray themſelves to *bluſhes*. Theſe glorious *Days* are ſeconded with as glorious *Nights*, where Masks and Dancings had a continued *motion*; the King naturally affecting ſuch high-flying Paſtimes, and banquetings, as might wrap up his *Spirit*, and keep it from deſcending towards Earthly things.

Feaſted in *London*.

The City of *London*, and the Court at *white-hall*, like two great Stars in Conjunction, had one and the ſame influence, and operation; they muſt do ſomething for the Man whom the King loves: Therefore a great Feaſt is prepared by them in *Merchant-Taylors Hall* (and all the *Grandees* and *Ladies* are invited) with ſo much magnificence, as if it had been Competitor, and vyed with *Whitehall* for *Glory*. They all rod on horſeback into the City in the Evening, following their two Leaders; the Men attending the *Bridegroom*, and the Women the *Bride*; ſo mounted, furniſhed, and adorned with Trappings, and ſo beſpangled with *Jewels*, that the Torches, and *Flambeaux* (which were numerous) were but little light to the Beholders.

Overbury hears of the Marriage.

The noiſe of theſe *Triumphs* reſounding in the *cloſeſt Corners*, brought the news to Sir *Thomas Overbury*, which was an unfit and comfortleſs *Companion* to a Man in *miſery*, conſcious to himſelf, that all his *ſufferings* proceeded from his *oppoſition* to that which was now in *agitation*; ſo that in his obſcure *Priſon*, and darker thoughts, he could not ſee the leaſt *glimps* of *hope* that looked towards *liberty*, when he conſidered the implacable *nature* of the *Woman*. But yet he was not ſo guilty to his own *Reaſon*, and that *friendſhip* (as he thought) that was betwixt him and the Earl of *Somerſet*, as utterly to deſpair, he having ſo faithfully promiſed to procure his Releaſe.

Writes to *Somerſet*.

Therefore *Overbury* writes to him in the midſt of his *glory*, to let him know the ſad *condition* wherein he was, and how much his health was impaired, which he imputed to his *recluſedneſs*,

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neſs, and want of *Air*, humbly imploring his aſſiſtance, that he might no longer languiſh under the burthens of his infirmities. *Somerſet* not willing to have him exclaim made anſwer, That the King was now full of great *buſineſs*, but he would take the firſt opportunity to move him for his Releaſe (though he was highly incenſed againſt him) and make his *indiſpoſition* a ground for the Kings *mercy* to work upon; including in the Letter a white *Powder*, which he deſired him to take, aſſuring him, that though it made him a little ſick at firſt, it would do him much good in the end. The poor abuſed *Gentleman* took his *Powder*, which having a poyſonous *Quality*, added to his affliction: But there muſt be ſomething more violent to work the Feat.

Somerſet ſends poyſons in his Anſwers.

The Lieutenant of the Tower (that was his frequent *Viſitor*) opened his Breaſt to his complaints, and with an outward *pity* received them, againſt thoſe that were *Authors* of his *calamities*, and diſcharged them again into their *boſoms*, againſt whom they were ſpoken; ſo that he could ſay nothing that came not to their knowledg, his very words being racked, as well as his body tormented. For the Lieutenant confeſt after, with repenting tears, as one of his great ſins, that he was unfaithful and treacherous to him, doing things to his diſadvantage that he truſted him to do, promiſing him ſecrecy, and betraying him to ſatisfie *greatneſs*. Thus he continued in this *diſmal Den* above four *Months*, whipt daily (as it were) with *Scorpions*, whoſe venomous ſtings entred even into his *Soul*. So that his *Enemies*, being more impatient for his enduring ſo long, than he was to endure ſo much, forced *Nature* ſo, with an impoyſoned *Glyſter*, (compounded by *Franklin*) that within a ſhort time after he died.

The Lieutenant betrays *Overbury*.

Overbury dies.

And to kill him again after death, they brand him with the ſcandal of a *laſcivious life*, giving out, that he died of the *Pox*: Which *Northampton* expreſſed to *Somerſet* in a Letter, telling him of ſtrange *Sores*, and *Ulcers* found upon his Body, ugly to behold, ſtinking intolerably, the People forced to throw him in a looſe Sheet into a Coffin, and bury him privately on *Tower-Hill*: Concluding, That God is gracious in cutting off evil *Inſtruments* before their time. Which Sentence (while he was writing it) reflected the *judgment* on himſelf; For *Northampton* having a great influence in the Kingdom, being a prime *Counſellor* to the *King*, and intimate with *Somerſet*, they two graſping all *Power*, and *Northampton* having the better *head* to manage it, the miſcarriages were, not without cauſe, imputed to him. For being a *Papiſt*, he did not only work upon *Somerſet* to pervert him (by letting him ſee there was a greater *latitude* for the *Conſcience* in that *Religion*) but got him to procure many *immunities* for the *Papiſts*, as the Kings beſt affected *Subjects*. And

Northampton reviles him.

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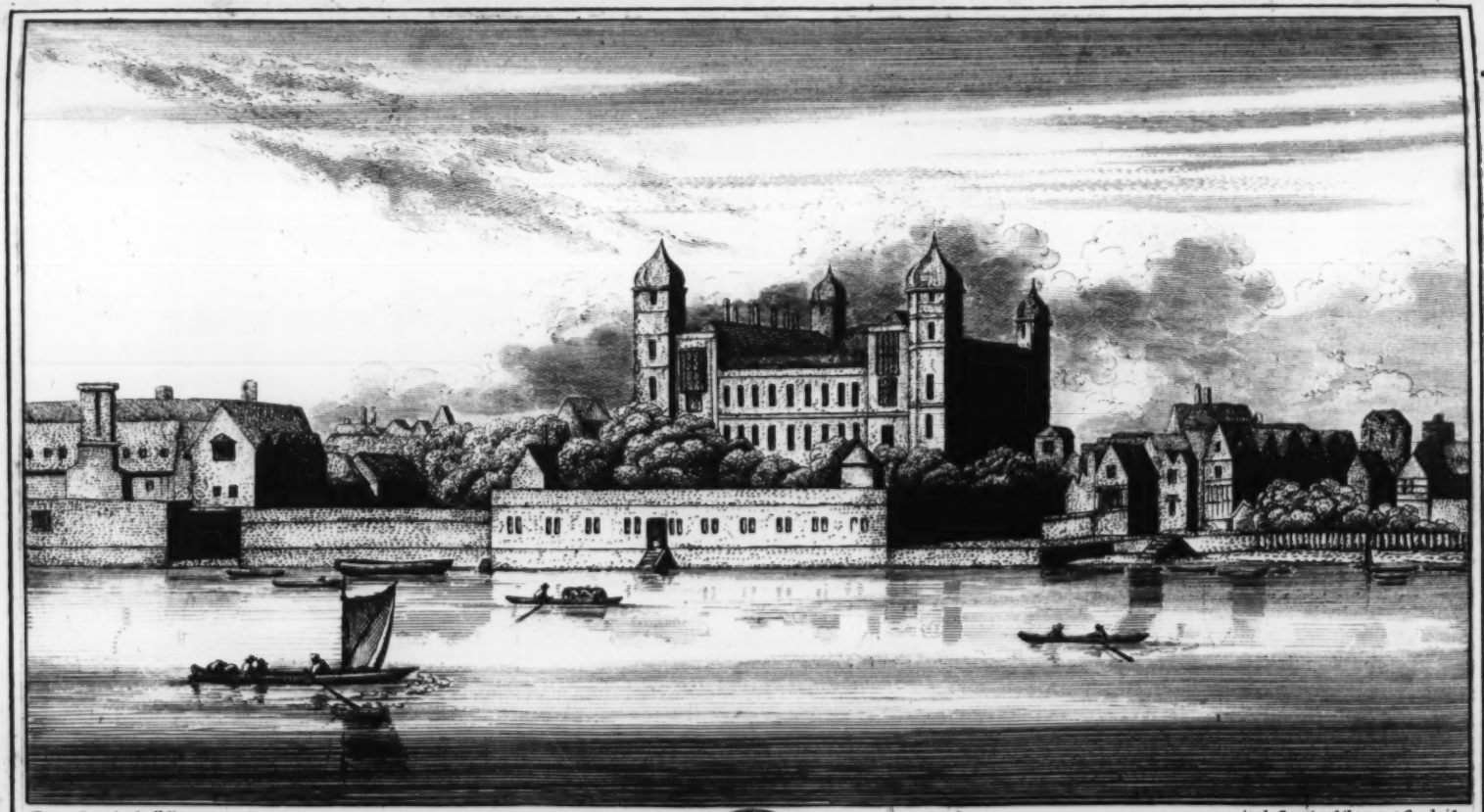
being Lord Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, he gave free access to *Priests* and *Jesuits*, that abundantly flockt again into the Kingdom, the *operation* of the last *Proclamation* having now lost the *vertue*: And a Letter being discovered which he had written to Cardinal *Bellarmine*, wherein he expresses the *condition* of the Times, and the Kings importunity compelled him to be a *Protestant* in shew, yet nevertheless his heart stood firm with the *Papists*, and if there were *cause* he would express it; with much more to this purpose. These things first muttered, then urged against him, touched him to the heart, so that he retired, disposed of his Estate, and dyed. He had a great mind tending towards eminent things, which he was the better able to effect, by living a Batchelor to an old Age, being always attended (and he loved it) with Gentlemen of Quality, to whom he was very *bountiful*. His affections were also much raised to *Charity*, as by the *Almshouse* he erected appears, and his Works shew him to be a great getter. But leaving no Issue to *propagate* his name, he built a fair House by *Charing-cross* to continue it, which it lost soon after his death, being called *Suffolk-house* for a time, and now is *Northumberland-house*. Such *changes* there are in the Worlds measures! His Body was carried to be buried at *Dover*, because he was Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, as was reported by some of his Followers, but it was *vulgarly* rumored to be transported to *Rome*. But these actions of his about *Overbury* lying *dormant*, made no great noise at this time against him; but when they broke out, they laid upon his name as great a *stench* as *Infamy* or *Odium* could produce.

Northampton dies.

The Bishops that were only to move in their own *spheres* had an influence over more than their own *Seas*: For some of them that were never unactive for establishing their *Temporal Greatness*, were not contented to suppress many Pious and Religious men, but, I know not for what *Policy*, restrained their going beyond Sea: For there were divers Families about this time shipped for *New-England*, and were not suffered to go, though afterwards they were upon better thoughts permitted. For in *Reason* (being there was an impossibility to reduce them to their *Wills*) it had been the best course to have set open the *door*, that the *Enemy* might have had a smooth passage. But this *malicious* proceeding was no hindrance to the *establishment* of that *Colony*, nor is the blame to be laid upon the *Function* (for some of the Bishops in these *Times* were holy men, and great *Lights* to the *Truths* of God) but on such, whose *ambition* made them indeavour more after *Earthly* things than *Heavenly*, and less to please God than the King (as Cardinal *Wolsey* long since confessed of himself) and the *malice* of evil men may protract, but it shall never destroy what God intends to build up. A *wonderful Light* breaking forth in the *West-part* of the *World*, this *latter*

People go to *New-England* 1614.

Age,



From a Drawing by Hollar **SUFFOLK HOUSE CHARING CROSS.** *in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge*

SUFFOLK HOUSE, originally called NORTHAMPTON HOUSE, was erected in the reign of James I. by Henry Howard Earl of Northampton, on the Site of the dissolved hospital of St MARY ROUNCIVAL. It afterwards belonged to Thomas Earl of Suffolk, and was called SUFFOLK HOUSE, or PLACE, until the marriage of that noblemans daughter with Percy, Earl of Northumberland: when, after undergoing various alterations, it assumed its present name of NORTHUMBERLAND HOUSE. The above curious view represents it as it appeared in the early part of the reign of Charles the first.

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Age, diſcovering the *nakedneſs* of the *Nations* both in *body* and *ſoul*; which carried a *reſemblance* of the *Creation* of a new *World*, or at leaſt the *imperfection* of the old. A vaſt *Territory* and few people.

The *Spaniards*, the firſt *diſcoverers*, being more covetous to graſp, than well able to plant, took poſſeſſion of the moſt precious places, ſo that the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch*, caught but what they left. Sir *Walter Rawleigh* and others (after Sir *Francis Drake*) found out that Country now called *Virginia*, which was long ſince planted with a Colony. And in that tract of Land more *Northerly*, within the *degrees* of 40 and 48 of *latitude*, lies *New-England*, a *Climate* temperate and healthful, but not ſo much as the *Old*. It is rather a low than a high Land, full of *Rocky-Capes* or *Promontories*. The inmoſt parts of the Country are Mountainous, intermixt with fruitful Vallies, and large Lakes, which want not ſtore of good Fiſh. The Hills are no where Barren (though in ſome places Stony) but fruitful in Trees and Graſs. There are many Rivers, freſh Brooks and Springs, that run into the Sea. The Rivers are good Harbors, and abound with plenty of excellent Fiſh, yet are they full of *Falls*, which makes them not Navigable far into the Land. The Seas bordering the Shores are ſtudded with Iſlands, about which great Shoals of Fiſhes (Cod, Haddock, and ſuch like) do wantonly ſport themſelves. The main Land doth nouriſh abundance of Deers, Bears, Wolves, and a beaſt called Mooſe, peculiar to thoſe Regions; and the Rivers and Ponds are ſtored with ſome Beavers, Otters, and Muſquaſhes. There are alſo divers kinds of ſmall Beaſts, but the moſt offenſive are Foxes; Fowls there are ſtore in their ſeveral ſeaſons, as Turkies, Geeſe, and Ducks; and the ſoyl naturally produces wild Vines with very large Bunches of Grapes, but the extremity of *heat* and *cold* hinder their juſt temper. There are many other Fruits which are very good, with Plants, whoſe Rinds or Barks tranſcends our Hemp or Flax; both Air and Earth concurring to bring forth moſt things that Induſtry and Art can provide for the uſe of man.

New-England deſcribed.

The firſt that ſent a *Colony* into this Country, was the Lord Chief Juſtice *Popham*, in the year 1606. A man highly renowned in his time, for perſecuting ſuch as tranſgreſſed the *Laws* among *Chriſtians*, living like *Beaſts* of *prey* to the prejudice of Travellers. And in this he had a ſpecial aim, and hope alſo, to eſtabliſh *Chriſtian Laws* among *Infidels*; and by *domeſtical*, to chace away thoſe *ferous*, and *indomitable Creatures*, that infeſted the Land: Brave and gallant *ſpirits* having ever ſuch *publick ends*. But *Planters* are like *Alchymiſts*, they have ſomething in *projection*, that many times fails in *production*. It is conceived the *Romans* were not well adviſed to ſettle one of their

Planted firſt 1606.

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first *Colonies* at *Maldon* in *Essex*, whose soyl about, is neither yet sound, nor Air salubrious. And the first opening of ground in a Climate not *Natural*, hath an extraordinary *operation* upon the *Bodies* of *Men*, whose *Senses* must comply to give entertainment to a *Stranger*, that often spoils the place where it finds *Hospitality*. For the first *Planters* of *New-England* having seated themselves low, few of them were left, to direct those that succeeded, in a better way. Yet People, by dear experience, overcame it by *degrees*, being yearly supplied by men, whose industry and affections taught them, there was more hope to find safety in *New-England* than in the *Old*.

Somersets devices to get Money.

Though these found some stop, yet our great *Favourite*, the Earl of *Somerset*, and his business, runs smoothly, without *rub*, since *Overburies* death. But he must alter his *Bias*, and go less, or find some new ways to bring in *Monies*; the *Revenues* of the *Crown* are not competent to maintain such vast *Expences*, accumulated by his *Riot*, though he had all the Earl of *Westmorelands* Lands at his Marriage, and Creation, added to his Earldom. There must be therefore a new *Order* of *Baronets* made, in number two hundred, that must be next *Degree* to *Barons*, and these must pay a thousand pound a piece for their *Honour*, having it by *Patent* under the great *Seal*, and continued to *Posterity* with the Title of *Knights*. Some of these new *Honourable men* (whose Wives pride, and their own Prodigalities had pumpt up to it) were so drained, that they had not moisture to maintain the *radical humour*, but wither'd no nothing. This money thus raised, is pretended for planting the North of *Ireland*, but it found many other Chanels, before it came to that *Sea*. And though at our Kings first access to the *Crown*, there was a glut of *Knights* made, yet after some time he held his hand, lest the Kingdom should be cloyed with them: And the World thriv'd so well with some, that the price was afterwards brought up to three hundred pounds a piece. But now again, the poor *Courtiers* were so indigent, that sixty pounds would purchase a *Knighthood*, the King wanting other means to gratifie his *Servants*.

The Kings Bounty.

Yet he was of so free a Nature, and careless of Money, when he had it (though solicitous to get it) that he *batled* in his own *bounty*. For being one day in the *Gallery* at *White-hall*, and none with him but Sir *Henry Rich* (who was second Son to the Earl of *Warwick*) afterwards Earl of *Holland*, a Gentleman of *excellent Natural Parts*, but youthfully expensive; and *James Maxwel*, one of his Bed Chamber; some *Porters* past by them, with three thousand pounds, going to the *Privy Purse*: Sir *Henry Rich* whispering *Maxwel*, the King turned upon them, and asked *Maxwel*, what says he? what says he? *Maxwel* told him, he wisht he had so much money; *Marry shalt thou* Harry, (saith

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(ſaith the King) and preſently commanded the *Porters* to carry it to his *Lodging*, with this Expreſſion, *You think now you have a great Purchaſe; but I am more delighted to think how much I have pleaſured you in giving this money, than you can be in receiving it.* This Story intervenes, to ſhew the *Temper* of his *Mind.*

Gold raiſed.

About this time alſo *Gold* was raiſed to two ſhillings in the *pound*, occaſioned from the high value ſet upon it abroad, which made the Merchant tranſport it. But the firſt Inhancers can make their *Markets*, by ingroſſing great *Sums*; eſpecially the Payments of thoſe times, and all this Kings Reign, being for the moſt part in *Gold* ſo that it might be called the *Golden Age*; that it is a wonder now, what *gulf* hath ſwallowed thoſe great *ſums*, if their *golden wings* be not flown to the *Sun-riſing*. But theſe little *proj-cts* will bring in but ſmall ſtore of *money*, to maintain the *Work*; many ſuch *Materials* muſt go, to make up a *Royal Building*, and little *Streams* will not eaſily fill a *Ciſtern* that hath many Iſſues. A *Parliament* can furniſh all: but who dare venture on ſuch *Refractory Spirits*?

A Parliament undertaken.

Yet there was a *generation* about the *Court*, that to pleaſe and humour Greatneſs, undertook a *Parliament*; as men preſuming to have Friends in every *County*, and *Borough*, who (by their *Power* among the *People*) would make Election of ſuch *Members* for *Knights* and *Burgeſſes*, as ſhould comply ſolely to the Kings *deſires*; and *Somerſet* is the Head and Chief of theſe *Undertakers*. But this was but an *Embrion*, and became an Abortive. The *Engliſh Freedom* cannot be loſt by a few baſe and tame *ſpirits*, that would unmake themſelves, and their *Poſterity*, to ingrandize one Man. For the *Parliament* meeting according to their *Summons*, ſuch Faces appeared there, as made the *Court* droop; who, inſtead of Contributing to the Kings *wants*, lay open his *waſts*, eſpecially upon the *Scots*, with whom they deſire *medietatem linguæ*, a ſhare of favour: *The Bread* (by our Saviours rule) *properly belonging to the Children of the Kingdom.* And they beſeech His Majeſty to ſtop the Current of *future acceſs* of that *Nation* to make *reſidence* here, having enough to eat up their own *Crums*. They enquire into the *Cauſes* of the unexpected increaſe of *Popiſh Recuſants*, ſince the *Gun-Powder Plot*, the deteſtation whereof (they thought) ſhould have utterly extinguiſhed them; and they find it to the Admiſſion of *Popiſh Nobility* into his *Counſels*; the ſilencing of many watchful, and diligent *Miniſters*; the divers *Treaties* his Majeſty hath entertained, not only for the Marriage of the deceaſed Prince *Henry*, but for Prince *Charles* that now liveth, with the Daughters of *Popiſh Princes*, which diſ-heartneth the *Proteſtant*, and encourageth the *Recuſant*; laying open with theſe, many other *miſcarriages* in *Government*, which the King willing to have concealed, ſtopt them in their *Courſe*, diſſolving the *Parliament*, and

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and committing to the Tower and other Princes (the beginning of incroachment upon the publick *liberties*) such as were most active for the *Common good*.

A Benevolence required.

These fair *Blossoms* not producing the hoped-for fruit, they find out new *Projects* to *manure* the People; different much in *name* and *nature*; a *Benevolence*, extorted; a *Free-gift* against their *wills* was urged upon them, and they that did not give in their *money*, must give in their *names*, which carried a kind of *fright* with it. But the most knowing men (like so many *Pillars* to the *Kingdoms liberties*) supported their *Neighbours* tottering *Resolutions*, with assuring them, that these kind of *Benevolences* were against *Law*, *Reason* and *Religion*.

First against *Law*, being prohibited by divers Acts of Parliament; and a Curse pronounced against the infringers of them.

Secondly, against *Reason*, that a particular man should oppose his judgment and discretion, to the wisdom and judgment of the King assembled in Parliament, who have there denyed any such aid.

Thirdly against *Religion* That a King violating his Oath (taken at his Coronation for maintaining the *Laws*, *Liberties*, and *Customs* of the *Realm*) should be assisted by the people in an *Act* of so much *Injustice* and *Impiety*. These, and many other Arguments instilled into the people by some good *Patriots*, were great impediments to the *Benevolence*; So that they got but little *money*, and lost a great deal of *love*: For no *Levies* do so much *decline*, and *abase* the *love* and *spirits* of the people, as unjust *Levies*. Subsidies get more of their *money*, but Exactions enslave the *mind*; for they either raise them above, or depress them beneath their sufferings, which are equally *mischievous*, and to be avoided.

The King of *Denmarks* second coming.

This Summer the King of *Denmark* revisited his Sister the Queen of *England*, with some forty Lords, Gentlemen, and others in his Train; landing at *Yarmouth*, and passing directly to *London*, took up his Lodging in our Common Inns, and was not known but for some *Outlandish Nobleman*, till he came to the Queens *Palace* in the *Strand*, where she was surprized with the unexpected joy of a *Brothers company*, distanced from her by the interest of his people, the great Bar that hinders Princes the common *civilities* and happiness of their Inferiors. But the joy continued not long; for after some fourteen days interview, they parted again. But those days had such a *plenitude* of all those *delights* that contend to satisfaction, as if a great deal of more time had been involved and contracted in them.

The Queen opposes *Somerset*.

The Earl of *Somerset* new made *Lord Chamberlain*, succeeding his Father-in-law the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the *Lord Treasurer*

Successor



The lively portraict of the Lady Francis
Countesse of Somerset

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Succeſſor to *Salisbury*, were not very acceptable to the Queen, having the ſame *ſpirit* and *animoſity* againſt *Somerſet* that her Son had: But whether from an apprehenſion that the Kings love and company was alienated from her, by this *maſculine converſation* and *intimacy*, or whether the mans *inſolence*, (thus high mounted) had carried him too near the *Beams* of *Majeſty* (his creature *Overbury*, being a little before his Commitment condemned for preſumptuous walking with his hat on in her Palace Garden, ſhe being in the window) or whether from that *natural inclination* that makes every one oppoſe *Pride* in others, though it be more active in themſelves, and ſee it not; or from that *Rumor* of Prince *Henries death*, covertly imputed to *Somerſet*, I know not. But ſhe became the head of a great *Faction* againſt him.

Sir *Ralph Winwood*, who had been *Lieger-Ambaſſador* with the States in the *Netherlands*, for his abilities and good ſervice had merited ſo much from the King, that he made him Secretary of State; The Queen cloſes with him, the better to diſcover *Somerſets* miſcarriages, and he was ready enough to oblige her; for *Somerſet* made him but an *Underling*, graſping all *Publick* imployments into his own hand, not caring whom he diſobliged, or what *Malice* he pulled upon himſelf; for like a *Coloſs* he ſtood the *brant* of all the Tempeſts of *Envy*, making thoſe that carried the greateſt *ſail* to ſtrike and come under him. Nor would he ſuffer any place in Court, or dignity in State, to be beſtowed; which was not ſweetned with his *ſmile* that gave it, or their *bounty* that injoyed it; ſo that (it was thought) he ingroſſed a *maſs* of *Coin*, as if his *ſoul* intended to take her eaſe. This *Pride* and *Covetouſneſs* added to his other *miſcarriages* ſuch a number of *Underminers*, that he ſtood upon a tottering *foundation*, having no *ſupport* but the Kings *favour*, which, whether by *Providence* from above, or purpoſes below (both ever concurring from the *Will* to the *Means*) was ſoon removed.

George Villers a favourite.

For about this time the King caſt his eye upon a young Gentleman, ſo rarely *moulded*, that he meant to make him a *Maſterpiece*: His name was *George Villers*, he was ſecond Son to Sir *George Villers*, a Knight of *Leiceſter-ſhire*, by a ſecond *Venter*: For the old man coming to *Colehorton* in that County, to viſit his Kinſwoman the Lady *Beaumont*, found a young Gentlewoman of that name, allyed, and yet a ſervant to the Lady, who being of a handſom preſence, and countenance, took his affections, and he married her. This was the *ſoil* where the glorious *Cedar* grew? who having only the breeding and portion of a younger Brother, with the Mothers *help* and *travel*, got the *addition* of a *French garb*, which brought him to the Court in no greater a *condition* than fifty pounds a year is able to maintain.

The

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The King ſtrucken with this new *object*, would not expoſe him to ſo much hazard as the *malice* of a jealous *Competitor*, nor himſelf to ſo much *cenſure*, as to be thought changeable, and taken again with a ſudden affection; therefore he inſtructs ſome of his Confidents to bring him in by *degrees*; who intimated the Kings pleaſure to him, that he ſhould wait *Cup bearer* at large, being ſo, at too ſtrait a diſtance of *place*, to have any *mark* of *favour* for *ſuſpition* to level at. And if the King had not received a new Impreſſion thus, the old Character of *Somerſet* that was imprinted in his *ſoul*, could not ſo ſoon (as many men thought) have been blotted out. But *Courts* that are the *wiſeſt*, though not the moſt *vertuous Schools*, do teach their *Scholars* to obſerve the *Seaſons*, and by the *Aſtronomy* of the Princes *eye*, to calculate what Fortune ſuch Aſpects, and ſuch Conjunctions may happily produce: And they found ſo much as gave them incouragement to hear, and boldneſs to diſcover, that which pulled down the *one*, and ſet up the *other*.

Somerſets decline 1615.

But *Somerſet* that had the *pulſe* of his *Conſcience* always beating at *Overburies* door, was as active to preſerve himſelf, as his Enemies were to ruin him: and finding himſelf ſhaking (though there was nothing yet laid to his *Charge*, but the imbezelling ſome of the *Crown Jewels*) he throws himſelf at the Kings feet, acknowledging the great Truſt his Majeſty had repoſed in him, and the weight of buſineſs lying on him, might make him incounter him with ſome *miſcarriages* through youth and ignorance (great imployments often meeting with *envy*, that joſſels them in the way) he therefore humbly beſought his Majeſty to grant him a general *Pardon* for what was paſt, that he might not be expoſed to the *malice* of thoſe that would wreſt all his *Actions* to the worſt meaning. The King that raiſed this fair *Edifice*, being loth to have it quite pulled down again, gave order for the drawing up of a general *Pardon*, in ſo ample and full a manner, that it might rather exceed, than take riſe from any former *precedent*; This the King ſigned and ſent to the Great Seal; But the Queen having notice of it, and uſing her *Power* with the Lord Chancellor, gave ſtop to the Seal till the Kings coming to Town (who was on his *Progreſs* in the *Weſt*) and then what was mutter'd in corners before, rung openly in the Streets: For the *Apothecaries* boy that gave Sir *Thomas Overbury* the *Gliſter*, falling ſick at *Fluſhing*, revealed the whole matter, which Sir *Ralph Winwood* by his Correſpondents had a full Relation of, and a ſmall *breach* being made, his *Enemies*, like the noiſe of many *Waters*, riſe up againſt him, following the *Stream*.

The King deſerts him.

The King hearing of the *buſineſs*, and what ill ſound it carried with it (as it was ſet out to him) that in the face of the *Court*, and ſo near his own boſom, ſuch poyſonous practices ſhould be perpetrated, and on one that was his *Priſoner*, he ſeemed



So here his shade whose substãce is divine;
Like God in all that may his Angell fite:
Whose light before men like a lampe doth shyne
The Oyle of Grace and learning feeding it:
Yet like a lampe that others light doth give,
Still wasts the Oyle by which him self doth live.

See thy true shadowe Nature and suppose
How much thy Substance is belov'd of Hart
O Cunning if thy Mirror could disclose
His heavenly Formes of Zeale Religion Arts
This Picture might exactlie shewe in Hym
Each vertue done to Life for each dead Lym

Nicolâ Lockey pieri curauit et Simon Pasteur sculpsit

ſeemed to be much moved with the *Relation*; and ſending for the *Judges*, gave them ſtrict Charge to examin the Matter throughly, imprecating a *Curſe* upon them and their *Poſterity*, if they did not endeavour to diſcover it; and if he did ſpare any guilty Perſon, *He wiſhed Gods Curſe might light on him, and his Poſterity*; So violent the King appeared in proſecution of it! And away to *Royſton* he goes, and *Somerſet* with him; thither theſe *rumours* came buzzing about his *ears*, like a riſing *ſtorm* upon a well ſpread *Oak*; but he thought himſelf too firmly rooted in the Kings favour to be removed, therefore he went back to *London*, to ſtill the murmurs vented againſt him. Some ſay, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Cook* ſent for him, upon which he went to the King with a Complaint, as taking it to be a great *preſumption*; but the King made anſwer, *Thou muſt go then, for if* Cook *ſends for me I muſt go too.* Others ſay, when he came to take his leave of the King, he embraced and kiſt him often, wiſht him to make haſte back, ſhewed an extreme *paſſion* to be without him; and his back was no ſooner turned, but he ſaid with a *ſmile, I ſhall never ſee thy face more.* Whether either, or both of theſe were ſo, cannot be aſſerted, but to *London* he went; his Counteſs was apprehended (and committed to Cuſtody in *Black-Fryars*) before he came thither; he was no ſooner there, but he was ſeized on, and commended to the Charge of Doctor *Mountain*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*; and then they went on roundly with the Buſineſs.

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For a little before this, *Weſton* was taken, and examined, but like a ſtubborn *piece* (unmoulded for impreſſion) nothing could be drawn from him; but God (by the means and perſuaſion of the Biſhop of *London*, Doctor *King*, a man eminent for *piety* in his time) ſo wrought upon his *heart*, that the *eye* of his *ſoul* being opened to the *foulneſs* of his *ſin*, he diſcovered all, ſo that the whole *Confederacy* were laid hold on; Who falling into the hands of the Lord Chief Juſtice *Cook* (a Spirit of a fiery exhalation, as ſubtil as active) he left no ſtone unturned, till he had ript up the very *foundation*.

Weſton and the reſt tried.

But in the mean time, between *Weſtons* ſtanding mute, and his Trial, one *Lumſden* a Scotchman, took upon him to make a falſe and *libellous Relation* of the buſineſs, and delivers it to *Henry Gib* of the Bed-Chamber, to be put into the Kings hand; in which Writing he falſifies and perverts all that was done the firſt day of *Weſtons* Arraignment, turning the edg of his imputations upon the Lord Chief Juſtice *Cook*: which Bolt was boldly ſhot by him, but it was thought not to come out of his own Quiver; and it lighted into an ill hand for him, for the King diſcovered it, and left him an open Mark to that *Juſtice*, he had traduced.

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Weston was the first that suffered by the hand of the Law; which Sir *John Hollis* (after Earl of *Clare*) out of friendship to *Somerset*; and Sir *John Wentworth*, a Person debauched and riotous (hoping from the beams of of *Somersets* favour to increase his wanting *fortunes*) strove to blast in the *Spring*; for they rod to *Tyburn*, and urged him at his Execution to deny all, hoping that way to prevent the *Autumn* that followed: but *Westons Soul* being prepared for *Death*, resisted their temptations, sealing penitently the Truth of his *Confession* with his last. And this attempt of *Hollis*, *Wentworth*, and *Lumsden*, to pervert *Justice* being aggravated against them in the Star-Chamber by the Kings Atturney, Sir *Francis Bacon*, they were sentenced there, and found the reward of their Presumption.

Weston executed.

Mrs. *Turner.*

Mistris *Turner* followed next: A Pattern of *Pride* and *Lust*; who having always given a loose Rein to her *life*, she ran this carreer at last into the *jaws* of *death*.

Sir *Jervis Ellowis.*

Sir *Jervis Ellowis*, Lieutenant of the Tower, was the third, who suffered on *Tower Hill*; a Man much pitied, being drawn in by the *allurements* of *Northampton* to be a *Spectator* rather than an *Actor* in this bloody *Tragedy*; but his Connivence cost him his life. And being a man full of sorrow for his offence, he left two Pillars behind him at his death, for Watch-Towers to all that pass by, in this Bark of frail *Mortality*, to prevent Shipwrack. One was, *Not to vow any thing to God, but to perform it.* The other was, *Not to take a pride in any Parts, though never so excellent.* For the first, he said he was a great *Gamester*, and loved it; and having lost one time much money, he seriously and advisedly, between *God* and his own *Soul*, clapping his hand on his breast, spake thus (as it were to God) *If ever I play again, then let me be hanged! and breaking my Vow* (said he) *now God hath paid my Imprecation home.* The second was, He took a great delight in his *Pen*, *And that Pen* (to use his own words) *which I was so proud of, hath struck me dead, and, like* Absolons *hair, hath hanged me; for there dropt a word or two from my Pen, in a Letter to the Earl of* Northampton, *which upon my salvation I am not able to answer: At my Arraignment I pleaded hard for my life, and protested mine innocency; but when my own Pen came against me, I was not able to speak for my self, but stood as one amazed, or that had no tongue.* Such damps doth guiltiness cast upon the Spirit!

And *Franklin.*

The fourth that fell by the stroke of *Justice*, was *Franklin*, a Fellow as sordid in his death, as pernicious in his life, whose name deserves not so much as *memory*.

The fifth and sixth were *Somerset* and his *Countess*. At her Arraignment, all the Letters that passed betwixt *Forman* and *she*, were read in *open Court*, and the waxen and brazen Poppets were made visible, dancing up and down from hand to hand, which discovered the folly of her *Actions*: But the Earl and she,



R. Clamp Sculp.

JOHN HOLLES 1st EARL of CLARE.

From a Drawing in the Possession of Richd Bull Esqr

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ſhe, being condemned, found the King *mercy*, and were, after ſome time of impriſonment in the *Tower*, ſet at liberty, holding their lives by a Leaſe of the Kings *will*, living in a private, and almoſt obſcure *condition*. Shewing in it, That no *contents* or *happineſs* can be truly eſtabliſhed, but on the foundation of *Juſtice*. For that *Love* that made them break through all *Oppoſitions* (either by her decling to ſome new *Object* (as was the common rumour) or his inclining to *reluctancy* for the *Old*) grew ſo weak, that it pined away, and they lived long after (though in one Houſe) as Strangers one to another.

The Counteſſes deſcription in her death.

She died before him. Her death was *infamous*, his without *fame*, the *obſcurity* of the reſt of his life darkning the *ſplendor* of it. And though ſhe died (as it were) in a *corner* (in ſo private a condition) the loathſomeneſs of her *death* made it as conſpicuous as on the *houſe top*: For that part of her Body which had been the *receptacle* of moſt of her *ſin*, grown rotten (though ſhe never had but one *Child*) the *ligaments* failing, it fell down, and was cut away in *flakes*, with a moſt *nauſeous* and putrid *ſavour*; which to augment, ſhe would roul her ſelf in her own *ordure* in her bed, took delight in it. Thus her affections varied; For nothing could be found ſweet enough to augment her *Beauties* at firſt, and nothing ſtinking enough to decipher her loathſomeneſs at laſt: Pardon the ſharpneſs of theſe expreſſions, for they are for the Glory of God, who often makes his *puniſhments* (*in the ballance of his Juſtice*) of equal weight with our *ſins*.

Somerſets in his life.

For his *Perſon*, He was rather well compacted than tall; his features and favour comely, and handſome, rather than *beautiful*; the hair of his head flaxen, that of his face tinctured with yellow, of the *Sycambrian* colour: In his own *nature*, of a gentle mind, and affable diſpoſition, having publick *affections*, till they were all ſwallowed up in this *gulf* of *beauty*, which did precipitate him into theſe dangerous Contrivances. For that which made his *friendſhip* falſe, diverted his publick affection to his private intereſt; and when he found himſelf guilty of what he thought might ruin him, he grew covetous to heap that together, which he thought might preſerve him; So that at one breach that our *Corruptions* make, many miſchiefs follow in the crowd. And if he had not met with ſuch a *Woman*, he might have been a good man: but trials, and ſtrong temptations, enhanceth the Price of Vertue; the conflict is gallant, but to be overcome debaſeth a man the more, by how much his fall is the greater.

I was loth to ſeparate theſe *Delinquents* in their Trials (being cloſe woven) by the length of Sir *Francis Bacons* Speech in the *Star-Chamber*, againſt *Hollis*, *Wentworth*, and *Lumſden*. But knowing what an *Ornament* his *Oratory* will give to this Story,

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and how usual it was for ancient *Historians* to insert their *Harangues* of State, as well as *Military Orations*, I could not decline this, though it comes almost in the *Rere*; the rather because it will serve as a Seal and Confirmation of what is formerly written. And thus it was.

Sir *Francis Bacons* Speech in Star-chamber.

'THE Offence wherewith I shall charge the three Offenders at the Bar, is a misdemeanour of a high *Nature*, 'tending to the defacing and scandal of *Justice*, in a great 'Cause Capital. The particular Charge is this:

'The King among many of his *Princely Vertues*, is known to excel in that proper *Vertue* of the Imperial Throne, which is *Justice*; it is a *Master Vertue*, unto which the other three are ministrant, and do service: *Wisdom* serveth to discover, and discern of Innocencies, and Guiltiness; *Fortitude* is to persecute, 'and execute; and *Temperance* so to carry *Justice*, as it be not 'passionate in the pursuit, nor confused in valuing Persons, 'nor precipitate in Time.

'For this his Majesties *Vertue* of *Justice*, God hath of late rai'sed an Occasion, and erected (as it were) a *Stage*, or *Theatre*, 'much for his *Honour*, to shew, and act it, in the pursuit of the 'violent untimely death of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, and therein 'cleansing the Land from blood. For if blood doth cry to Hea'ven in Gods ears, this is a stench, I may say, in the Nostrils of 'God and Man.

'This work of *Justice*, the greater and more excellent it is, 'you will soon conclude, the greater is the offence of any that 'have sought to affront or traduce it. And therefore, before 'I descend unto the particular Charge of these Offenders, I 'will say somewhat of the Crime of Impoysonment; somewhat 'of the particular Circumstances of this Fact upon *Overbury*; 'and thirdly, of the Kings great and worthy care and carriage 'in this business.

'The offence of Impoysonment is most truly figured in that 'Device and Description which was made of the nature of 'Caius Caligula, That he was *Lutum sanguine maceratum*, Mire 'cemented with blood: For as it is one of the highest offences 'in guiltiness, so it is the basest of all others in the minds of 'Offenders. Treason, *Magnum aliquid spectant*, they aim at 'great things; but this is vile and base. I have found in the 'Book of God, examples of all other offences, but not any one 'of an Impoysonment, or an Impoysoner. I find mention of 'some fear of casual Impoysonments; when the Waters were 'corrupted and bitter, they came complaining in a fearful man'ner, Master, *Mors in olla*: And I find mention of Poysons of 'Beasts, and Serpents, *The Poysons of Asps is under their lips*, saith 'the *Psalm*, but I find no mention in a Human Creature, of a

'*malicious*

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'*malicious* and *murtherous* Impoysonment. *Let their table be made a snare*, is certainly most true of Impoysonment, but that I 'think was meant of the Treachery of Friends, that were par-'ticipant of the same Table.

'This is an offence that hath two *spurs* of *offending*, *Spes per-'ficiendi*, *& spes celandi*, it is easily committed and easily con-'cealed. It is an *offence*, that is, *Tanquam sagitta nocte volans*, it 'is the Arrow that flies by night, it discerns not whom it hits: 'for many times the poyson is laid for one, and another takes it. 'As in *Sanders* case, where the poysoned Apple was laid for the 'Mother, and the Child eat it. And so in that notorious Case, 'whereupon the *Statute* of 22 *Hen.* 8. *cap.* 9. was made, where 'the intent being but to poyson one or two, poyson was put in 'a little Vessel of Barm that stood in the Kitchen at the Bishop 'of *Rochesters* house, of which Barm, Pottage or Grewel was 'made, wherewith seventeen of the Bishops Family were poy-'soned, nay, divers of the poor that came to the Bishops-gate, 'and had the Pottage in Alms, were likewise poysoned. Here is 'great talk of Impoysonment, I hope I am safe, I have no ene-'mies, nor any thing men can long for; that is all one; for he 'may sit at the Table by one, for whom poyson is prepared, and 'have a drench of his Cup or of his Pottage, and so (as the 'Poet saith) *Concidit infelix alieno vulnere*, he may die another 'mans death, and therefore it was most gravely, judiciously, 'and properly provided by that *Statute*, that Impoysonment 'should be High-Treason, because whatsoever offence tendeth 'to the utter subversion and dissolution of Human Society is 'in the nature of High-Treason,

'But it is an offence, that I may truly say of it, *Non est nostri 'generis nec sanguinis*; It is, thanks be to God, rare in the Isle 'of *Britain*: It is neither of our Country, nor of our Church; 'You may find it in *Rome*, and *Italy*, there is a *Religion* for it, if 'it should come among us, it were better living in a Wilder-'ness than in a Court.

'For the *particular fact* upon *Overbury*; I knew the Gentle-'man, it is true, his mind was great, but it moved not in any 'great good *order*, yet certainly it did commonly fly at good 'things; and the greatest fault that ever I heard by him, was, '*That he made his Friend his Idol.* But take him as he was, the 'Kings Prisoner in the Tower, and then see how the Case 'stands. In that place the State is (as it were) a Respondent 'to make good the Body of the Prisoner, and if any thing hap-'pen to him there, it may (though not in this Case, yet in some 'others) make an asperson, and reflexion upon the State it 'self: For the person is utterly void of his own defence, his 'own care and providence can serve him to nothing; He is 'in the *custody* and *preservation* of *Law*, and we have a *Maxim*

'in

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'in our *Law*, that when a *State* is in *preservation* of *Law*, nothing 'can destroy it, or hurt it; and God forbid but the like should 'be in *Persons*, and therefore this was a *circumstance* of great *ag-* 'gravation.

'Lastly, To have a man chased to death, in a manner, as it 'appears now by matter of *Record* (for other privacy of Cause 'I know not) by poyson after poyson: First *Resaker*, then *Ars-* 'nick, then *Mercury sublimate*, then *sublimate* again, it is a thing 'would astonish mans nature to hear it. The *Poets* feign that 'the *Furies* had *Whips*, and that they were corded with poyson- 'ed *Snakes*; and a man would think that this *subject* were the 'very Case: To have a man tied to a *post*, and to scourge him 'to death with *Serpents*, for so truly may diversity of *poysons* be 'termed.

'It pleased my Lord Chief Justice to let me know that which 'I heard with great *comfort*, which was the *charge* that his *Ma-* 'jesty gave to himself, and the rest of the Commissioners in 'this Case, worthy to be written in *Letters* of *Gold*, That 'the business should be carried without touch to any that was 'innocent, not only without impeachment, but without 'aspersion, which was a most *Noble* and *Princely caution*; for 'mens *Reputations* are tender things, and ought to be like 'Christs Coat without seam. And it was more to be respected 'in this Case, because it met with two great *Persons*; A *Noble-* 'man that his Majesty had favoured and advanced, and his 'Lady, being of a great and Honourable House, though I think 'it be true that the *Writers* say, that there is no *Pomegranate* so 'fair, or so sound, but may have a perished Kernel. Nay, I see 'plainly in those excellent Papers of his Majesties own hand- 'writing (as so many *beams* of *Justice* issuing from that *Vertue* 'which so much doth shine in him) the business so evenly car- 'ried without *prejudice*, whether it were a true Accusation on 'the one part, or a practice or false Accusation on the other, 'as shewed plainly that his Majesties judgment was, *Tanquam* 'tabula rasa, as a clean pair of Tables, and his ears, *Tanquam* 'janua aperta, as a gate not side open, but wide open to the Truth, 'as it should be discovered. And I may truly affirm, that there 'was never in this Kingdom, nor in any other, the *blood* of a 'private Gentleman vindicated, *Cum tanto motu Regni*, or to 'say better, *Cum tanto plausu Regni*: If it had concerned the King 'or Prince there could not have been greater, or better Commi- 'ssioners. The term hath been almost turned into a *Justium*, 'or *Vacancy*; the people being more willing to be lookers on 'in this business, than proceeders in their own. There hath 'been no care of discovery omitted, no moment of time lost; 'and therefore I will conclude, with the saying of *Solomon*, this 'part of my Speech, *Gloria Dei celare rem*, and *gloria Regis scru-*

'tari

'*tari rem*, It is the glory of God to conceal a thing, and it is 'the glory of the King to find it out. And his Majesties honor 'is the greater; for that he shewed to the World this business, 'as it hath relation to my Lord of *Somerset* (whose Case in no 'sort I do fore-judg, being ignorant of the secrets of the cause, 'but take him as the Law takes him, hitherto for a *suspect*) 'I say the King hath to his great honor shewed, That were any 'man in such a case of blood, as the Signet of his right-hand '(as the Scripture saith) he would put him off.

'Now will I come to the particular *Charge* of these Gentle- 'men And first I will by way of *Narrative* relate the *Fact*, with 'the occasion of it.

'This wretched man *Weston*, who was the *Actor*, or *Mechani- 'cal* party in this Impoysonment, the first day being indicted by 'a very substantial *Jury* of selected *Citizens*, to the number of 'nineteen, who found *Bills vera*; yet nevertheless at the first 'stood mute. But after some days intermission, it pleased God 'to cast out the *Dumb Devil*, and he put himself upon his Trial, 'and was by a *Jury* of great value, upon his own *Confessions*, and 'other *testimonies*, found *guilty*: So as thirty and one sufficient '*Jurors* have past upon him, and he had also his Judgment and 'Execution awarded. After this, being in preparation for an- 'other World, he sent for Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Father, and 'falling down upon his knees, with great remorse and compun- 'ction asked him *forgiveness*; and afterwards again of his own 'motion, desired to have his like prayer of *forgiveness* recommen- 'ded to his Mother, who was absent. And at both times out 'of the abundance of his heart confessed that he was to die *just- 'ly*, and that he was worthy of death. And after again at his 'Execution (which is a kind of sealing time of *Confessions*) even 'at the point of death (though there were *Tempters* about him 'he did again confirm publickly, that his Examinations were 'true, and that he had been justly and honourably dealt with. 'So here is a period of this man, which was the subject of this 'calumny or affront of *Justice*. Wherein Mr. *Lumsden* plays his 'part first, who in the time between *Westons* standing *mute* and 'his *Tryal*, frames a most odious and libellous *Relation*, contain- 'ing as many untruths as lines, sets it down in writing with his 'own hand, and delivers it to one of the *Bedchamber* to be put 'into the Kings hands, falsifying all that was done the first day 'of *westons* Arraignment, turning the pike and point of his im- 'putations upon the Lord Chief Justice of *England*, whose name 'thus occurring, I cannot pass by, and yet I cannot skill of this 'same *Flattery*, or *vulgar Attribute*; but this I will say of him, 'and I would say as much to *Ages*, *That never mans person and his 'place were better met in a business, than my Lord* Cook, *and my Lord 'Chief Justice, in the Cause of* Overbury.

'Now

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'Now for the person of Master *Lumsden*, I know he is a 'Scotch Gentleman, and thereby more ignorant of our *Laws*: 'but I cannot tell whether this doth extenuate his fault, or in-'crease it; for as it may extenuate it in respect of *ignorance*, so 'it doth aggravate it much in respect of *presumption*, to meddle 'in that he understood not, unless some other mans cunning 'wrought upon this mans boldness. The infusion of a *slander* 'into a Kings ear, is of all forms of *Libels*, and *Slanders*, the 'worst. It is true, that Kings may keep secret their *informa-'tion*, and then no man can enquire after them, while they are 'shrined in their *Breast*: but where a King is pleased that a 'man shall answer for his false information, divers precedents 'of slanderous *Petitions* have been as severly punished, as slan-'derous *Libels*.

'For the Offence of Sir *John Wentworth*, and Sir *John Hollis*, 'which was, to scandalize the *Justice* already past, or to cut 'off the thread of something that is to come, these two Gentle-'men came mounted on Horseback, and in a ruffling and fa-'cing manner, presumed to Examin *Weston*, whether he did 'poyson *Overbury*, or no; directly cross to that which had 'been tried, and judged. For what was the Point tried? 'That *Weston* had poysoned *Overbury*: And Sir *John Went-'worth*'s question was, whether he did poyson him? A direct 'Contradictory. Whereupon *Weston* answered, that he did 'him wrong; and turning to the Sheriff, said, *You promised 'me I should not be troubled at this time*; and yet nevertheless 'Wentworth prest him to answer, that he might pray with him. 'I know not that Sir *John Wentworth* is an *Ecclesiastick*, that he 'should cut any man from communion of Prayer; and for 'all this vexing of the spirit of a poor man, now in the gate of 'death, *Weston* stood constant, and said, *I die not unworthily, my 'Lord Chief Justice hath my mind under his hand, and he is an 'honourable and just Judg*. Sir *John Hollis* was not so much a 'Questionist, but wrought upon the other Questions, and like 'a Counsellor, wisht him to discharge his Conscience, and to 'satisfie the World: What World I marvel! It was the 'World at *Tyburn*: For the World at *Guildhall*, and the World 'at *London*, were satisfied before; *Teste* the Bels that rang e-'very where. But men have got a fashion now a-days, that 'two or three busie bodies will take upon them the name of the 'World, and broach their own *conceit*, as if it were a general 'opinion. Well, what more? When they could not work up-'on *Weston*, Sir *John Hollis* in an indignation, turned about his 'horse, as the other was turning to his *death*, and said he was 'sorry of such a *Conclusion*. That was to have the State honou 'red or justified.

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'Sir *John Hollis* offence hath another *Appendix*, before this in 'time, which was at the day of the Tryal. He preſumed to give 'his *Verdict* openly, That if he were of the *Jury* he would not 'doubt what to do. Marry he ſaith he cannot well tell whe-'ther he ſpoke this before the *Jury* had given up their *Verdict* or 'after. Wherein there is little gained; for whether he were 'a *Præjuror*, or a *Poſtjuror*, the one was to prejudice the *Jury*, the 'other was to attaint them.

'The offence of theſe Gentlemen is greater and more dan-'gerous than is conceived. We have no *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, no '*Juſtice* in a corner, no gagging of mens mouths at their death, 'but they may ſpeak freely to the laſt; but then it muſt come 'from the free motion of the *party*, not by tempting of *Queſti-'ons*. The Queſtions that are asked ought to tend to further re-'vealing of their own, or others guiltineſs: But to uſe a Que-'ſtion in the nature of a croſs interrogatory, to falſifie that 'which is *Res judicata*, is intolerable. That were to erect a '*Court*, or Commiſſion of *review* at *Tyburn*, againſt the *Court* of '*Weſtminſter*: For if the Anſwer be according to the Judgment 'paſt, it adds credit to *Juſtice*; if it be contrary, it derogateth 'nothing, yet it ſubjecteth the *Majeſty* of *Juſtice* to a popular 'vulgar *talk* and *opinion*. My Lords, theſe are great and dan-'gerous offences; for if we do not maintain *Juſtice*, *Juſtice* will 'not maintain us.

Then the Examinations being read, and further aggravated againſt theſe three Gentlemen, there paſſed Judgment upon them of Fine and Impriſonment.

Sir *Thomas Monſon*, another of the Counteſſes *Agents* in this poyſoning contrivance, had paſt one days Tryal at *Guildhall*. But the Lord Chief Juſtice *Cook* in his *Rhetorical Flouriſhes* at his Arraignment, vented ſome expreſſions (which he either deduced from *Northamptons* aſſuring the Lieutenant of the Tower, that the making away of Sir *Thomas Overbury* would be acceptable to the King, or from ſome other ſecret hint received) as if he could diſcover more than the *death* of a private perſon, intimating, though not plainly, that *Overburies* untimely remove had ſomething in it of retaliation, as if he had been guilty of the ſame Crime againſt Prince *Henry*, bleſſing himſelf with admiration at the *horror* of ſuch *actions*. In which he flew ſo high a pitch, that he was taken down by a *Court Lure*, Sir *Thomas Monſons* Tryal laid aſide, and he ſoon after ſet at liberty, and the Lord Chief Juſtices wings were clipt for it ever after.

Sir *Thomas Monſon* arraigned.

And it was rumor'd, that the King (heightned to ſo much *paſſion* by this *eruption* of Sir *Edward Cooks*) went to the Council Table, and kneeling down there, deſired *God to lay a Curſe*

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upon him and his poſterity for ever, if he were conſenting to Overburies *death.* But this cannot be aſſerted, being above our *Sphere*; yet as *Mathematicians* do propoſe to themſelves imaginary *Circles*, for the ſeveral *motions* in the *Heavens*, and though there be none diſcovered, yet they find the effects of what they apprehend: So the ſudden ſtopping of *Monſons* Tryal, put ſtrange imaginations into mens heads, and thoſe ſeconded by *Reports* too high for private *diſcovery*, their operation only falling under the common *notion*. But the Lord Chief Juſtice was blamed for flying out of his way; that having enough to proſecute the buſineſs, he would graſp after more till he loſt all: For this Crime was thought ſecond to none but the *Gunpowder-plot*; that would have blown up all indeed at a blow (a *merciful cruelty*) this would have done the ſame by *degrees*, a lingring, but as ſure a way; one by one might have been culled out, till all oppoſers had been removed: Beſides, the other Plot was *ſcandalous* to *Rome*, making *Popery* odious, this was *ſcandalous* to the *Goſpel* ever ſince the firſt *Nullity*. The *Devil* could not have invented a more miſchievous practice to *Church* and *State*.

The Lord Chief Juſtice blamed.

The Lady *Arabella* dies.

The Lady *Arabella* dying about this time in the Tower, ſet mens tongues and fears awork, that ſhe went the ſame way. Such miſchief doth one evil *action* introduce, that it makes a great Rode for Jealouſie to purſue after it. The Lady was Daughter to *Charles Stuart*, younger Brother to our Kings Father, by *Elizabeth Cavendiſh*, who was married ſome years paſt to Sir *William Seymour*, Son to the Lord *Beauchamp*, and Grandchild to *Edward* Earl of *Hertford*; both at ſome diſtance allyed to the Crown, therefore ſuch a Conjunction would not be admitted in the *Royal Almanack*, ſo dreadful is every apparition that comes near *Princes Titles*. Sir *William Seymour* for the Marriage was committed to the Tower, and the Lady *Arabella* confined to her Houſe at *High-gate*. But after ſome impriſonment they conclude to eſcape beyond Sea together, appointing to meet at a certain place upon the *Thames*: Sir *William* leaving his man in his bed to act his part with his Keeper, got out of the Tower in a diſguiſe, and came to the place appointed. She dreſt like a young Gallant in mans attire, followed him from her houſe, but ſtaying long above the limited time, made him ſuſpicious of her interception, ſo that he ſent away, leaving notice if ſhe came, that he was gone away before to *Dunkirk*. She, good Lady fraught with more fears, and lagging in her flights was apprehended, brought back to the Tower, and there finiſhed her *earthly pilgrimage*. She being dead, Sir *William Seymour* got leave to return home, and married ſince to the Lady *Frances*, Daughter to the late noble Earl of *Eſſex*, a Lady in whoſe breaſt dwells as much *Honor* as can be derived from noble *Progenitors*,



William Seymour, *Marquis and* Earle of Hartford, and Baron Beauchamp.



The Picture of the most Noble and Learned Ladye Arbella Stewart &c.

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genitors, by whom he hath a very hopeful Iſſue, and by the death of his Grandfather was Earl, and now is Marqueſs of *Hertford*.

And now the *Temples* of *Janus* being ſhut, Warlike *Abilliments* grew ruſty, and *Bellona* put on Maſking-attire; for *Scotland* bought her *Peace* at a good rate, and *Ireland* found the *fruits* of hers growing up to her hand. Thoſe *Iriſh* that had great Eſtates (though rude enough) the King ſupplied and tamed with *Honours*, and they that had little were content calmly to ſuck in what they had, and battel'd by it, ſo that they wanted nothing but *moderation* to make them *happy*. Theſe *Halcion* days ſhined round about us. The influence of our Kings peaceable *mind*; had almoſt an univerſal *operation* *Spains* ambition was contented to be bounded by the *Pirene* Hills, and the *Atlantick* Ocean, ſucking in the fruits of *Italy* and *Sicily*, and hoarding up the Treaſures of the *Indies*, willingly ſinging a *Requiem* to the *Netherlands*. *France* wanting *Exerciſe* ſurfeited with diſeaſes at home, which by fits broke out into *Tumors* among themſelves. The *Germans* ſwelled into a *Dropſie* of *Voluptuouſneſs*, by *Plenty*, and the *ſweets* of *Peace*, *Politick Bodies* are like *Natural*; Full feeding contracts, *groſs humors*, which will have vent. Only ſuch Exerciſe as may refine, and keep the *ſpirits* active, and digeſt the groſſer and fulginous matter, ſtrengthens the *Nerves* of a Kingdom, or *Republick*. Nothing now but bravery and feaſting, the *Parents* of *Debanchery* and *Riot*, flouriſhed among us. There is no *Theam* for *Hiſtory* when men ſpill more *drink* than *blood*; when *plots* and *contrivances* for *Luſt*, acted in dark corners, are more practiſed than *Stratagems* in *War*; and when the *Stages* with ſilken *Pageants* and *Poppets*, that ſlacken the *ſinews*, are more frequented than thoſe *Theaters* of *Honor*, where *Induſtry* brawns and hardens the *Armis*: *Peace* is a great *Bleſſing*, if it bring not a *Curſe* with it; but *War* is more happy in its effects than it, eſpecially if it takes away the *diſtemper* that grows by long ſurfets, without deſtroying the *Body*. But ſince theſe *buskind ornaments* are wanting, we muſt imbelliſh our *Diſcourſes* with ſuch paſſages as paced up and down in the *ſock* of *Peace*.

Peace every where.

There had been in Prince *Henries* time a Treaty of *Marriage* betwixt him and a Daughter of *Spain*, which took no effect. Our King was real in his intentions, not willing to have his *Sons Beams* to diſplay themſelves but in a *Royal Horizon*. The *Spaniſh policy* clouded the *buſineſs* with *delays*, whether from the old *grudg* that was betwixt Queen *Katharine* and *Henry* the eighth, or the difference between the *Nations* in *Religion*? But the *Spaniſh Courteſie* being loth directly and point blank to tell our King, he liked not the *Conjunction*, went with a ſlow-paced *Gravity*, ſuch as he thought befitted the *Civility* of Prin-

The King thinks of a match for his Son Prince *Charles*.

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ces, and gave a little light to hope that it might be accomplished. But *Salisbury* and others that managed those great affairs then, did at this *chink* discover, that their *formalities* were but *Spanish Complements*, which like the *air* that gave them *being*, soon vanished away. After this our Kings thoughts cast about, how he might provide a fit *match* for Prince *Charles*, who shined in the same *sphere* of *Honor* (that his Brother left for a *better*) but not so much inlightned with the peoples *love*, being less *active* and *splendid*, and (that I may not call it *sullennes*) more *reserved*. The *German Dames* were discoursed on (where his Sister shined in her Glory) as being of the same *Religion*, and more suitable in *Christian Policy*; but they were (in a manner) *subjects* to the Emperor, and that would give an allay to the *Super-elementary* extraction of Kings, which should be of a higher *Origine*, to amuse, and that they might be the more admired by their people, and therefore not so fitting in *State-Policy*. And seeing there were small hopes expected from *Spain*, a Daughter to *Henry* the great, late King of *France*, was aimed at, and Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, our Kings Lieger Ambassador, had (long before this time) made his little addresses, superficially, and sounded the Chanel, but he met some *Rocks* and *Remoras* in the way, so that he could not discover clearly their intentions; and the King was loth to express himself plainly, lest he should receive an affront. And now sending (as he thought it civilly necessary) an Extraordinay Ambassador to congratulate the King of *France* his *Marriage* with *Anna* the *Infanta* of *Spain*, he thought it good *policy* to take this *occasion* to make a stricter *scrutiny* whether there were any ground to rest upon for matching his Son.

The Lord *Hays* sent into *France*.

And who is fitter for that employment, being only for *Courtship* and *Bravery*, than the Lord *Hayes*, a Gentleman whose *Composition* of *mind* tended that way? He was born in *Scotland*, where *bravery* was in no *superfluity*, bred up in *France*, where he could not have it in *extravagancy*, but he found it in *England*, and made it his *vanity*. The King had a large *hand*, and he had a large *heart*, and though he were no great *Favourite* ever, yet he was never but in *favour*. He with a great Train of young Noblemen, and other *Courtiers* of eminency, suited themselves with all those *ornaments* that could give *lustre* to so dazelling an appearance as *Love*, and the *Congratulation* of it carried with it. All the study was, who should be most glorious, and he had the happiest *fancy*, whose invention could express something *Novel*, neat, and unusual, that others might admire. So that *Huntingtons Prophecy* was fulfilled here, when speaking of the time of the *Scots* Conquest of *England*, he said, *Multimoda variatione vestium & indumentorum designaretur*. I remember I saw one of the Lord Ambassadors Suits (and pardon me that

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The Lord *Hayes* rides in state to the Court.

that I take notice of such petty things) the Cloak and Hose were made of very fine white Beaver, imbroidered richly all over with Gold and Silver; the Cloak, almost to the Cape, within and without, having no lining but imbroidery, The Doublet was Cloth of Gold, imbroidered so thick, that it could not be discerned, and a white Beaver hat suitable, Brimfull of imbroidery, both above and below. This is presented as an *Essay*, for one of the meanest he wore, so that if this Relation should last longer than his *old cloaths*, the Reader might well think it a *Romance*, savouring rather of *Fancy* than *Reality*.

But this kind of *Vanity* had been long *active* in *England*: For the last Parliament it was moved by some well-affected to *Reformation* of the *Abuses* of excess in *Apparel*, that there might be a *Regulation* of this kind of *Gallantry*, to the distinguishing of men one from another; For (it was said) some of means *Fortunes* wore *Garments* fitter for *Princes* than *Subjects*; and many *Gentry* of antient descent had wasted, and impoverished themselves and their Posterities with this *extravagancy*, so that it was very requisite to give some stop to this redundant *humor*. To which was answered, That if those of *mean Fortunes* went so richly attired, and came not honestly by their *ornaments*, they would be quickly found out, and there were good Laws enough for such Transgressors. But as there is no perpetuity of *Being* on *Earth*, so there is a continual *vicissitude* and *revolution* in all *sublunary* things, some are advanced, and some decline, *God pulleth down one, and setteth up another*. If any Noble, or antiently descended Family will be so mad and foolish to beggar themselves and their Posterities with this, or any other excess, 'tis very probable that some man of more wisdom and merit will injoy that which the other hath so idlely and prodigally mispent; for to set such limitations will damp the spirits of Industry. So the motion was declined.

But to return to the Lord *Hayes*. Thus accoutred and accomplished, he went into *France*, and a day for *Audience* being prefixed, all the argument and dispute betwixt him and his gallant Train (which took up some time) was, how they should go to the *Court*. *Coaches*, like *Curtains*, would eclipse their *splendor*; riding on horsback in Boots, would make them look like *Travellers*, not *Courtiers*; and not having all Foot-cloaths it would be an unsuitable mixture: Those that brought rich trappings for their Horses, were willing to have them seen, so it was concluded for the Foot-cloth, and those that have none (to their bitter cost) must furnish themselves. This preparation begot expectation, and that filled all the Windows, Balcones, and Streets of *Paris* as they passed with a multitude of Spectators, Six Trumpeters, and two Marshals (in Tawny Velvet

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Velvet Liveries, compleatly Suited, laced all over with Gold, richly, and closely laid) led the way; the Ambassador followed with a great Train of Pages and Footmen in the same rich Livery, incircling his Horse, and the rest of his Retinue according to their Qualities and Degrees, in as much bravery as they could devise, or procure, followed in couples, to the wonderment of the beholders. And some said (how truly I cannot assert) the Ambassadors Horse was shod with Silver shooes, lightly tackt on; and when he came to a place where *Persons*, or *Beauties* of eminency were, his very Horse prancing, and curveting, in humble *reverence* flung his shooes away, which the greedy understanders scrambled for, and he was content to be gazed on, and admired, till a *Farrier*, or rather the *Argentier* in one of his rich Liveries, among his train of Footmen, out of a Tawny Velvet bag took others, and tackt them on, which lasted till he came to the next troop of *Grandies*: And thus with much ado he reached the *Louure*.

All Complements and outward Ceremonies of State being performed, the Lord Ambassador made his business known by more private addresses, which in appearance was well resented, but indeed not intended, and came to no effect: For the Duke of *Savoy* had anticipated the young Ladies affection for the Prince of *Piemont* his Son. The *Savoyan Agents* bringing more Gold in their hands than on their backs, had so smoothed the way, that not only those about the Princess, but the great ones themselves were made workers for him. After the Ambassador had been feasted magnificently, with all his gallant Train, in several places, to shew the *Grandure* of *France*, he came over into *England*, and practised it here, making many times upon several *occasions* such *stupendious Feasts*, and heaped *Banquets*, as if all the *Creatures* had contributed to his excess. I know not what limits or bounds are set to the *glories* of Princes Courts, or Nobles minds. We see the Sea it self, and all his tributary Rivers, do ebb and flow, but if they swell so high, to overflow that Bank, that *Reason* hath prescribed to keep them in, what Inundations of sad mischief follow, *Experience* shews.

A Breach betwixt the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice.

A little before this time there was a breach between the Lord Chief Justice *Cook*, and the Lord Chancellor *Ellesmer*, which made a passage to both their declines. Sir *Edward Cook* had heard and determined a Cause at the Common Law, and some report there was jugling in the business. The *Witness* that knew, and should have related the Truth, was wrought upon to be absent, if any man would undertake to excuse his *non appearance*. A pragmatical fellow of the *party* undertook it, went with the *Witness* to a Tavern, called for a Gallon pot full of Sack, bid him drink, and so leaving him went into the Court.

This



CHRISTINE DE FRANCE DVCHESSE
DE SAVOYE.

Balt. Moncornet ex.



CAROLVS. EMANVEL DVC DE
SAVOYE. ET PRINCE DE PIEDMONT.

This *witness* is called for as the prop of the Cause, the Undertaker answers upon Oath, *He left him in such a condition, that if he continues in it but a quarter of an hour, he is a dead man.* This evidencing the mans incapability to come, deaded the matter so, that it lost the Cause. The *Plantiffs* that had the Injury bring the business about in *Chancery*: The *Defendants* (having had Judgment at Common Law) refuse to obey the Orders of that Court, whereupon the Lord Chancellor for contempt of the Court commits them to prison. They petition against him in the *Star-Chamber*, the Lord Chief Justice joyns with them, foments the difference, threatning the Lord Chancellor with a *Premunire*. The Chancellor makes the King acquainted with the business, who sent to Sir *Francis Bacon* his Attorny General, Sir *Henry Montague*, and Sir *Randolph Crew* his Serjeants at *Law*, and Sir *Henry Yelverton* his Sollicitor, commanding them to search what *Presidents* there have been of late years, wherein such as complained in *Chancery* were relieved according to Equity and Conscience, after judgment at Common Law. These being men well versed in their *Profession* (after canvassing the matter throughly) returned answer to the King, That there hath been a strong *current* of *Practice* and *proceeding* in *Chancery*, after *Judgment* at *Common Law*, and many times after *Execution*, continued since *Henry* the sevenths time, to the Lord Chancellor that now is, both in the Reigns (*seriatim*) of the several Kings, and the times of the several Chancellors, whereof divers were great learned men in the *Law*; It being in Cases where there is no *Remedy* for the *Subject* by the strict course of the *Common Law* unto which the *Judges* are sworn. This satisfied the King, justified the Lord Chancellor, and the Chief Justice received the foil: Which was a bitter *potion* to his *spirit*, but not strong enough to work on him as his *Enemies* wished.

The Chief Justice is humbled.

Therefore to humble him more, he is brought on his knees at the Council Table, and three other *Ingredients* added to the *Dose*, of a more *active operation*.

First, He is charged, That when he was the Kings Attorney, in the beginning of his Reign, he concealed a *Statute* of twelve thousand pounds, due to the King from the late Lord Chancellor *Hatton*, wherein he deceived the *trust* reposed in him.

Secondly, That he uttered words of very high *contempt* as he sate in the seat of *Justice*, saying the *Common Law* of *England* would be overthrown, and the light of it obscured, reflecting upon the King.

And thirdly, His uncivil and indiscreet *carriage* before His Majesty (being assisted by his Privy Council and Judges) in the Case of *Commendams*.

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The laſt he confeſt, and humbly craved his Majeſties *Pardon*. The other two he palliated with ſome colourable excuſes, which were not ſo well ſet off, but they left ſuch a tincture behind that he was commanded to a private life. And to expiate the Kings anger, he was injoyned in that leiſurely retirement to review his Books of *Reports*, which the King was informed had many extravagant *opinions*, publiſhed for poſitive and good Law, which muſt be corrected, and brought to his *Majeſty* to be peruſed. But the Title of the Books wherein he ſtiles himſelf *Lord Chief Juſtice of England*, was to be expunged, being but *Lord Chief Juſtice of the Kings Bench*. And at his departure from the *Council Table* (where he humbly acknowledged his Majeſties *mercy*, and their Lordſhips *juſtice*) the *Lord Treaſurer* gave him a *wipe*, for ſuffering his Coachman to ride bare before him in the *ſtreets*; which fault he ſtrove to cover, by telling his Lordſhip, his Coachman did it for his own eaſe. But not long after the *Lord Treaſurer* came under his *laſh* in the *Star-Chamber*, and he requited him for it.

His Faults.

While he was under this *Clond*, all his faults were ripped up, either by his Enemies, or his Well-wiſhers, who adviſe him to be humbled for this Viſitation. That *Affliction* only *levels* the *mole-hils* of *pride* in us, *plows* up the *heart*, and makes it fit for *Wiſdom* to *ſow* her *ſeed*, and *Grace* to bring forth her *increaſe*. That he delighted to ſpeak much, which becomes a *Pleader*, and not a *Judg*; for ſo his *affections* were entangled with a liking of his own *arguments*, and an undervaluing of others; when having a large and fruitful mind, he ſhould not labour ſo much what to ſpeak, as what to leave unſpoken. *Such luſty ſoyls are often to be weeded*! That he was wont to praiſe, and diſpraiſe, upon ſlight grounds, the ſame man, and that ſometimes ſuddenly, ſo that his *reproofs*, or *commendations*, are neglected and contemned; when as the *cenſure* of a *Judg* (coming ſlowly, but ſurely) ſhould be a *brand* to the *guilty*, and a *crown* to the *vertuous*. That he will jeſt at any man in publick, without reſpect of the Perſons dignity, or his own; which diſgraceth his *gravity*, more than it can advance the opinion of his *wit*. That he makes the Law to lean a little too much to his own *opinion*, whereby he ſhews himſelf a *legal Tyrant*, ſtriking with that Weapon whom he pleaſes, being able to turn the edg any way. That having the living of a thouſand, he hath no *bowels* of *compaſſion* to men in want; the hand that hath taken ſo much, can give little, but gets, gets ſtill, as if he did try how much he could gather to account for at the great and general *Audit day*. That in the Caſe of *Overbury*, he uſed too many delays, till Delinquents hands were looſe, and his bound; in which ſlowneſs he was a *Fabius*, but the humour of *Marcellus* would have done better; for



Vera Effigies Viri clariſs EDOARDI COKE
Equitis aurati nuper Capitalis Iuſticiarij
ad Placita coram Rege tenenda aſsignati

R: White ſculpsit

for he ſtopt the Confeſſions and Accuſations of ſome, that would have ſpoken enough to remove more *ſtumbling blocks* out of his way; and yet he did not this in *favour* of any, but out of preſent unadviſed *humour*, ſuppoſing enough behind to diſcover all; which fell not out ſo: And therefore, though he were to be commended for what he did, yet he is to be reprehended for many Circumſtances in the doing; and theſe are now briers in his ſides, and thorns in his eyes. Much more, to this purpoſe, was written to him, and vented againſt him.

And ſhort Character.

Truly he was a Man of excellent *parts*, but not without his *frailties*: for as he was a *Storehouſe* and *Magazine* of the *Common Law*, for the preſent times; and laid ſuch a Foundation for the future, that *Poſterity* may for ever build on; So his *paſſions* and *pride* were ſo predominant, that boyling over, he loſt (by them) much of his own *fulneſs*, which extinguiſhed not only the *valuation*, but *reſpect* to his *merit*: *So often is that heat, that gives life to noble Parts, by a circular motion, the ruin of them!* Yet to cool his *diſtemper*, and to bring him to himſelf, he is within a ſhort time called to the *Council Table*, the *King* being loth to loſe his *abilities*.

The Lord Chancellor retires.

The Lord Chancellor *Elleſmer* alſo about this time, weary of his publick imployment, and weakned with *age*, deſired the Kings leave to retire, that he might make uſe of the ſhort time left him, to caſt up his accounts for another World: The King gave the *Seal*, and the place of Lord Chancellor, to Sir *Francis Bacon*, his Attorney General; and the old Lord *Elleſmer* wore out the remnant of his life in quiet, dying in a good old age. and full of *virtuous* fame, leaving a Noble *Poſterity*, who enjoy a great Eſtate with the Title of Earl of *Bridgwater*.

Sir *Ralph Winwood* dies.

Time and Age had alſo worn out Sir *Ralph Winwood*, the Kings able, faithful, and honeſt Servant, and Secretary; who dying, Sir *Robert Nanton*, and Sir *George Calvert*, were made Secretaries; men of contrary *Religions*, and *Factions* (as they were then ſtiled) *Calvert* being an *Hiſpaniolized Papiſt*: the King matching them together, like contrary *Elements*, to find a *medium* betwixt them.

The Lord Treaſurer queſtioned in Star-Chamber.

But the greateſt remove was the Lord Treaſurers ſtaff, which was broken by *Somerſets* fall; the way being now made plain, and laid open, that diſcovered the *Treaſurers* imperfections, and his *wives* corruptions: The Lady keeping the *Shop*, and Sir *John Binglie*, her Officer, crying, *What d'ye lack?* as the new Lord Chancellor *Bacon* was pleaſed to expreſs himſelf in the *Star-Chamber*; whither the *buſineſs* being brought, the *ſore* was open'd, and all the bad *humours* flow to the ill-affected part. *Bribery* and *Extortion* is the *matter* that appears, which is ſqueez'd out, and aggravated by Sir *Edward Cook*, (newly

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perkt up, such is the Worlds bucket!) who very learnedly cited many *Precedents* of *Treasurers* in former Kings Reigns, that miscarried, and their several *punishments*.

He begins with *Randulphus de Britton*, Treasurer to King *Henry* the third, who had mis-imployed the Kings Treasure, deceived the King in his Office, for which he was questioned, his Lands and Goods seized into the Kings hands, and sent prisoner to the Tower, where he submitted himself to the King, confest his fault, gave up his place, *& pro Gratia habenda* (saith the *Record*) obtained Restitution of his Goods and Lands, paying only three thousand pounds Fine. This was a piece of *Wisdom* (saith he) as well as *Humility*; alluding to the present Lord Treasurers stout heart that would not submit.

The second was *Petrus de Rivallis*, who was Treasurer of *Ireland*, and Chamberlain of *England* in *Edward* the firsts time, who had taken *Bribes* in his Office, *Tam de Religiosis, quam de Laicis*. Of which being convicted, he lost his place, and was put to his Fine and Ransom.

And in the same Kings Reign, The Abbot of *Westminster*, and his *virtuous Monks*, took out of the Kings Treasure at *Westminster* many thousand pounds, *Ad inaestimabile damnum Regis & Regni*. The Abbot being sent to the Tower, and the Monks disposed to several prisons, and notwithstanding they pleaded *Priviledg of Clergy-men* for their Tryal, yet in the Case of imbezelling the Kings Treasure, they had no *Priviledg*, but the *Temporalities* of the Abby were seized for *satisfaction*.

Cov. & Lichf.

In King *Edward* the seconds time, *Walter de Langton*, a Bishop, was Treasurer to the King; He did take of the Earl of *Montealto* to be a friend to him (*in agendis negotiis versus dominum Regem*) a hundred pounds (the said Earl being a prisoner) to let him go free to do his business. And this was given, as the Record speaks, *De spontanea voluntate*, for a Gratuity, *& ex curialitate sua*, for his courtesie, yet this was adjudged *Extortion* and *Bribery*. Again, *John de Engam* was indicted of *Trespass* by this Bishop for the Mannor of *Fubie*, whereunto the King pretended *Title*, and was by the Bishop imprisoned for the *Trespass*. But afterwards another Mannor was conveyed to this Bishop, *ob diversas curialitates*, for *courtesies* that he had done, and so *Engam* was discharged of his Indictment, and though that the Bishop pleaded, that *Voluntas Regis potius ad imprisonamentum quam ad finem*, because it was the Kings pleasure rather to punish by Imprisonment than Fine, yet this was adjudged *Bribery*. Again, the Bayliff of *Oxford* was committed for Arrerages of a hundred pounds in his Account, and thereupon the Mannor of *Calcot* was conveyed unto the Bishop, and the Bishop of his pure devotion did discharge him of that Imprisonment. But these were Pleas and Flourishes of guilty men, as the Record

cord ſaith, but they were all three judged *Extortion* and *Bribery*; and for theſe the Biſhop was put from his place, fined, and committed to the Tower.

William Lord *Latimer*, in *Edward* the thirds time, being appointed to pay the Kings debts, did buy in ſome of them at *lower* rates than was due, as eighty pounds for a hundred, and thirty pounds for forty; By which courſe he made the King a *Bankrupt Compounder*, and for this he was fined, and loſt all his Offices.

In like caſe was the Lord *Nevil*, who was truſted to pay the Army, but he bought the debt of them, and juſtified, that they gave him the remainder of their free gift, but for this he was fined, and committed to the Tower.

Theſe, and many other precedents and examples, armed with Authority and Antiquity, were muſtered up, and the Lord Treaſurers miſcarriages exaſperated, eſpecially for embezelling thoſe Moneys the King lately received of the State of the *Netherlands* for the redemption of the *cautionary* Towns, *Fluſhing*, and *Brill*, which the King was forced to relinquiſh again to the States, becauſe he had no money to pay the Soldiers there; and that money being deſigned for the *Iriſh* Army (which was alſo in great Want) it was thought the more heinous, and a double miſcarriage, being it was ſo dearly bought, and ſo unduly ſpent. But the Earl himſelf being a man of a noble diſpoſition (though too indulgent to his too active Wife) had retained the Kings favour, if he had taken Sir *Edward Cooks* counſel, and ſubmitted, and not ſtrove to juſtifie his own integrity, which he maintained with a great deal of confidence, till it was too late, for then his *ſubmiſſion* did him little good. But his Wives faults being imputed to him, he was fined thirty thouſand pounds, and impriſonment in the Tower; Sir *John Bingly* fined two thouſand pounds, and impriſonment in the Fleet: For it was thought the Lord and Lady could not have found the way into theſe obſcure, low, and dark contrivances, without the *light* of his help. Which *Sentence* was pronounced by the Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, who though he were of tranſcendent parts, yet was he tainted with the ſame infection, and not many years after periſhed in his own *corruption*; which ſhews, That neither *Example* nor *Precept* (he having ſeen ſo many, and been made capable of ſo much) can be a *Pilot* ſufficient to any *Port* of *Happineſs* (though *Reaſon* be never ſo able to direct) if *Grace* doth not give the *gale*.

But the King, more to exalt *Juſtice*, and to ſhew the people his high abilities, came in *June* this year to the *Star-chamber*, where in a long, and well-weighed *Diſcourſe*, he turns over the *volume* of his *mind*, that the World might read his excellent parts in lively *characters*.

The King comes to the Star-Chamber.

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He told the Lords he came thither in imitation of *Henry* the ſeventh his great Predeceſſor, and the reaſon he came no ſooner was, that he reſolved with *Pythagoras* for ſeveu years to keep ſilence, and learn the Laws of the Kingdom, before he would teach others, and the other ſeven years he was ſtudying to find an occaſion to come, that might not be with prejudice: For in his own cauſe he could not come; in a great cauſe betwixt man and man, it might be thought ſome particular *favour* brought him thither; and in a ſmall Cauſe it was not fit for him to come; but now he had ſo much to ſay in relation to good Government, that he could no longer forbear.

Firſt, He charges himſelf.

Secondly, The judges.

Thirdly, The Auditory in general.

In his own Charge he lays a foundation for raiſing a moſt excellent *ſtructure* in Government, wherein he was a Maſter-workman, and had a moſt admirable *Theory*, and full abilities to put it in practice, and happily the bent of his *intentions* tended that way, though it had for the moſt part a looſe ſtrong.

And to that which concerned the Judges, he not only reckons up their *Duties* in their publick *Relation*, but ſhews them the *Juriſdiction* and power of their ſeveral Courts, how far every one did extend, to which he would have them limited, that they might not claſh and conteſt one againſt another, to ſhake the *Baſis* on which they were built, but that there might be a *harmony* and ſweet *concordance* among them, Expreſſing himſelf with ſuch *Elegance* and *Prudence*, that the moſt ſtudious *Lawyer* (whoſe *deſign* had been to imbelliſh a *Diſcourſe* fitting for the *ears* of his Prince) could not have gone beyond what he expreſt to his People; ſo ſtrong and retentive was his *judgment*, and *memory*, ſo *natural*, and *genuine* that which came from them, that it did *emanare*, flow from him to the *admiration* of the hearers.

To the people in general, and under-Officers, he gave an *admonition* to ſubmit to the Law, and Juſtice of the Land, and not to go upon new *Puritan ſtrains* (ſuch was his expreſſion) to make all things popular, but to keep themſelves within the antient *limits* of *Obedience*: *For he feared Innovation as a Monſter got looſe, which ſhould be always kept in ſuch a Labyrinth, as none ſhould come at, but by the Clew of Reaſon.*

Then he commands the Judges in their *Circuits* to take notice of thoſe Juſtices of the Peace, that were moſt active for the good of the Country, that they might have incouragement from him. *For* (to uſe his own words) *I value them that ſerve me faithfully there, equally with thoſe that attend my perſon.* Therefore let none be aſhamed of this Office, or be diſcouraged in being a Juſtice of the Peace, if he ſerve worthily in it.

The

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The Chancellor under me makes Juſtices, and puts them out; but neither I, nor he, can tell what they are: therefore we muſt be informed by you, Judges, who can only tell, who do well, and who do ill, without which how can the good be cheriſhed, and the reſt put out? the good Juſtices are careful to attend the ſervice of the King and Conntry; the bad are idle ſlow-bellies, that abide always at home, given to a life of eaſe and delight, liker *Ladies* than *Men*; and think it is enough to contemplate Juſtice, when as, *Virtus in actione conſiſtet*; contemplative Juſtice is no Juſtice, and contemplative Juſtices are fit to be put out.

Another ſort of Juſtices, are Buſie-bodies, and will have all men dance after their *Pipe*, and follow their Greatneſs, or elſe will not be content: A ſort of men, *Qui ſe primos omnium eſſe putant, nec ſunt tamen*: Theſe proud *ſpirits* muſt know that the Country is ordained to follow God, and the King, and not them.

Another ſort are they that go ſeldom to the Kings ſervice, but when it is to help ſome of their Kindred or Alliance; ſo they come to help ther Friends, or hurt their Enemies, making Jugice ſerve for a ſhadow to *Faction*, and tumultuating the Country.

Another ſort are Gentlemen of great worth in their own *conceit*, and cannot be content with the preſent *form* of *Government*, but muſt have a kind of *liberty* in the people, and *muſt be gracious Lords*, and *Redeemers* of their *Liberty*; and in every cauſe that concerns *Prerogative* give a ſnatch againſt *Monarchy*, through their *Puritanical* itching after *Popularity*, ſome of them have ſhewed themſelves too bold of late in the lower Houſe of Parliament; And when all is done, if there were not a King, they would be leſs cared for than other men. So wiſe the Kings *fears* made him, and ſo wary to prevent the *popular* violence! And even in theſe Infant-times, the contention doth appear, which afterward got more ſtrength, when by his power he had gained in every County ſuch as he made ſubſervient to his will: For as the King ſtrove to looſen the Piles and Banks of the peoples liberties, ſo the people ſtrove to bound, and keep off the Inundation of his *Prerogative*.

Then he takes notice of the *ſwarms* of *Gentry*, that through the inſtigation of their Wives, or to new model and faſhion their Daughters (who if they were unmarried mar'd their Marriages, if married, loſt their Reputations, and rob their husbands purſes) did neglect their Country Hoſpitality, and cumber the City, a general *Noiſance* to the Kingdom, being as the *ſpleen* to the Body, which as in *meaſure* it over-grows, the Body waſts; and ſeeing a *Proclamation* will not keep them at *home*, he requires that the power of the *Star-chamber* may not only regulate them, but

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but the exorbitancy of the *new buildings* about the City (which he ſtill much repined at) being a *ſhelter* for them; where they ſpent their Eſtates in Coaches, Lacquies, and fine Cloaths, like *French-men*; living miſerably in their houſes, like *Italians*; becoming *Apes* to other *Nations*: Whereas it was the *honour* of the *Engliſh Nobility* and *Gentry* (above all Countries in the World) to be hoſpitable among their Tenants; Which they may the better do, by the *fertility* and abundance of all things. Thus the *King* pried into every *miſcarriage*, being willing to reform theſe (then growing) abuſes.

Unſtable ſpirits mutable.

But among all the heights of Reaſon that the ſpirit of man doth actuate, and give life to, the higheſt and moſt tranſcendent is that of *Religion*, which as it partakes more or leſs of *Faith*, ſo it inclines more or leſs to *Fancy*: Wavering and unſtable *minds* are not only blown about with the wind of every *opinion*, but *pride* and *diſcontent* (conjoyned often, though of different *operations*) are *engins* ſufficient to ſhake the *foundation*, though never ſo firmly ſetled. Some men turn over the leaf of *Conſcience*, and change a good *Religion* for a worſe; ſome the leaf of *Policy*, leaving an evil *Religion* for a better: but theſe kind of *ſpirits* will not be brought under by faſting and prayer, unleſs it be by him that can diſcover the *heart* of *hypocriſie*, though in as variable a *capacity* as the *countenance*.

The Arch-Biſhop of *Spalato* comes into *England*.

Theſe times gave examples of both theſe *humours*, ſome that went from us to *Rome*, and ſome that came from *Rome* to us. Among the reſt, one of eminency, *Marcus Antonius de Dominis*, Arch-Biſhop of *Spalato*, a man old and corpulent, unfit for *Travel*, being almoſt at his journies end by *Nature*, came into *England* with as little *Grace*. Here he preaches, rails, and writes againſt *Rome*, (extolling the *Proteſtant Religion*) till he came to be Dean of *Windſor*, and Maſter of the *Savoy*, which ſome few years he enjoyed; Then, whether he had higher *hopes* homewards, or the *humour* and *fancy* altering, like a *wandring Star*, he goes *Retrograde*, placing himſelf again in the *Roman Calendar*: but he is made to reckon at *Rome* by the *Gregorian* account; And though he thought himſelf in a full *Conjunction* with the *Stars* there of the greateſt *Magnitude* (having publickly recanted, and as bitterly reproached the *Proteſtant Doctrine* there, as he had exalted it here) yet the *Inquiſition* had ſo ſtrong an influence upon him, that it hindred the operation of it, for he died in *Priſon*, and they buried him both like a new *Heretick*, and an old *Emperor*, committing his *Body* to the *Flames*. *Such honour have all ſuch Saints!* For they hold it as a *Maxim*, *That that foundation is never apt to be built upon, that was once of a tottering temper.*

Dies at *Rome*.

France in combuſtion.

About this time, *France* raging with *paſſion*, plaid her bloody pranks. There is in that Kingdom a mad *Genius* domineering,

which



M. ANT. DE DOMINIS COM. PAL. ARCHIEP. SPALAT. DALM. ET CROAT. PRIMAS.



NICOLAS DE L'HOSPITAL, MARQVIS de Vitry et d'Arc, Comte de Chasteauuillain, premier Mareschal de France, Chlēr des Ordres du Roy, Gouuerneur de Meaux, Lieuten.t gnāl en Brie. Gou.r pour le Roy en ses pais et armées de Prouence Fils de Louis de l'hospital Seig.r de Vitry, et de Francoise de Brichanteau. Fut longtemps Cap.ne des gardes du Corps du feu Roy Louis 13, qui s'en seruit vtilem.t pour estouffer la naissance d'une guerre Ciuile, en la personne du M.al d'Ancre: qui diuisoit tous les François A rachant des mains de cét ambitieux fauory les pretextes aux malcontens. Cét incomparable coup de iustice de grand Prince, marquera a iamais qu'il estoit diuinem.t inspiré pour le salut de son Estat, et le repos de ses sujets: si nous faisons reflection sur nos miseres presentes. M.r de Vitry fut rescompensé par S.M. du baston de M.al de France en 1617. et conduit pompeusem.t au Palais le iour de sa reception. Le Roy le fit aussi en 1619 son Gnāl d'Armée contre les Princes, retirez en Champagne. Ian 1622. il fut laissé au blocus de la Rochelle auec le feu Conte de Soissons Cōmandant l'armee du Roy, et donna les premiers aduis pour la construction de l'important fort Louis. Il fit encore paroistre son courage et sa bonne conduitte par la prise de forte place de Royan. Bref et dans la paix et dans la guerre il s'est tousiours monstre inesbranlable au seruice du Roy. Son zele a la vraye Religion n'ayant pas moins paru que sa ualeur dans les Combats. Il fut estaby Gouuer.r de Prouence en 1632, ou il contribua de ses soins pour la ataque des Isles de S.t Honorat en suitte dequoy il ressentit un reuers de la Fortune par sa prison dans la Bastille, dou il ne sortit qu'en 1642. apres la mort du Card.al de Richelieu. Il mourut de Maladie le 28 Septembre 1644. ayant laissé plusieurs enfans de Dame Lucresse Bouhyer sa feme, qu'il espousa en 1617. alors Veufue du Marquis de Noirmoutier. son Corps gist a Chasteauuillain.


FRANCOIS DE BOVRBON PRINCE DE CONTY.

which like *Climaterical Diſeaſes*, take reſt, and after ſome intermiſſion break out again. The very ſame *Tragedy* acted at this time, was newly revived there three and thirty years after, as is now in the year 1650. perſpicuous to every eye of *Reaſon*; the *Perſons* in *power* the ſame, running all in one *parallel*. The *Queen-Mother* and the Marqueſs *D' Ancre* then, the *Queen-Mother* and the Cardinal *Mazarine* now; both *Aliens*, both *Favourites*. The Prince of *Conde* (the Head, and prime of the *Nobility*) impriſoned then, for oppoſing the ſwelling greatneſs of that *Favourite*; The Prince of *Conde*, and the other Princes, *Conti* and *Longuevil*, impriſoned now (though ſince ſet at liberty, having a powerful Army afoot) for oppoſing this. The *Nobility* riſe in Arms againſt the young King, and his Mother, to aſſiſt the Princes; ſo they do now. The Complaints and Grievances are the ſame; The Princes repined that ſuch an Upſtart ſhould manage all the great Affairs with ſo much licentiouſneſs, and they ſit ſtill as lookers on, and have nothing to do; All Offices, both Civil and Military, bringing their Garlands, and ſtrowing their choiſeſt flowers at Marſhal *D' Antre*'s feet, which ſtunk in their *Noſtrils*, and they infected the *People*, who are there but what the great *Ones* will make them; ſo that the Kingdom groaned under the inſolencies of an inſulting *Muſhroom*, bred from the excreſcency of *Royal humours*, as it doth now. *Lewis* the 14. fights with his *Subjects* now upon the ſame account that *Lewis* the 13. did then. But I can only give a *Cataſtrophe* to one of theſe *Tragedies*; the laſt *Act* of this now a playing wants its *Exit*.

And to conclude the firſt, *Lewis* the 13. finding his Mothers power ſwell ſo high, as to threaten a *deluge* of *Noble Blood*, for the preſervation of a *Mechanick Florentine*, and willing to be rid of a *Governeſs*, who eclips'd his *Glory*, commanded Monſieur *De Vitry*, Captain of his Guard, to ſeize on the Marqueſs at his firſt acceſs to Court. The Marqueſs (being then in his Government in *Normandy*, placing and diſplacing Officers, for his greater ſecurity) hearing there were new *Whiſperers* admitted to the King, came to the Court in a full career, with a ruffling Retinue at his heels, thinking to remove all *Obſtacles* in his way; but there he met the great *One*, *Death*, waiting for him, that his *policy* and high-flying thoughts never minded: For he had no ſooner entred the Gates of the *Louure*, but *De Vitry* arreſted him; and ſeeing him ſtep back upon his arreſt, as it were to lay hold on his *Sword*: he kill'd him inſtantly with a *Piſtol*; The noiſe whereof put the whole Court into an uproar. The King approved the Fact, the Queen lamented it; but ſhe muſt mourn no longer in the Court, therefore removed thence with a ſmall Train, to practice her *Italian Artifices*, as ſhe afterwards did, to the diſturbance of moſt parts of *Chriſtendom*,

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dom. The poor Marqueſs reſted not in *death*; for though he was privately buried that night, yet the rage and malice of the People lighted them to his Grave the next day, and tearing him thence, and tying his naked body to an *Aſſes* tail, drew him through the Streets of *Paris*, and hanged him by the heels upon a Gibbet on the new Bridg; where they cut off flakes of his Body, to ſend as Preſents to their Friends. And when they had ſatiated themſelves thus, they took down the mangled Carcaſs, and made another Progreſs through the City, till wearied with their Delight, they ſtrove to burn the Body, to be rid of it: but the fire being not ſo active as their malice, they threw the tattered bones into the River; ſo that their *Rage* pulled him out of the *Earth*, hung him in the *Air*, burnt him in the *Fire*, and left him in the *Water*. And (as they thought) to leave no memory of him, pulled down his houſe to the ground; which was afterwards ratified by publick *juſtice*, and his Wife was condemned by the ſame, and burned for a *Witch*. And to make their names the more odious, their very birth-places were ripped up, and they were both found to proceed from the *dunghils* of *Florence*. Thus ended this ſad *Tragedy*; which ſerves as *Lights* and *Sea-marks* of *Mortality*, to teach us how to ſteer our *brittle Bark* in this *Worlds Tempeſt*, that we bear not too much *ſail*, but keep a moderate and even *courſe*, betwixt the *rocks* of *pride*, and *ſhallows* of *contempt*; both which are equally dangerous.

The King goes into *Scotland*.

Our King dedicated this Summer to the Northern *Climate*; it is now fourteen years *Revolution*, ſince the *beams* of *Majeſty* appeared in *Scotland*. He begins his Journey with the *Spring*, warming the Country as he went, with the *Glories* of the *Court*: Taking ſuch *Recreations* by the way, as might beſt beguile the *days*, and cut them ſhorter; but lengthen the *nights* (contrary to the Seaſons) For what with Hawking, Hunting, and Horſe-racing, the *days* quickly ran away; and the *nights* with Feaſting, Maſking and Dancing, were the more extended. And the King had fit *Inſtruments* for theſe *Sports* about his *Perſon*, as Sir *George Goring*, Sir *Edward Zouch*, Sir *John Finnit*, and others, that could fit and *obtemperate* the Kings *Humour*: For he loved ſuch *Repreſentations*, and *Diſguiſes* in their *Maskaradoes*, as were witty, and ſudden; the more *ridiculous*, the more *pleaſant*.

His new Favourite.

And his new *Favourite*, being an excellent *Dancer*, brought that *Paſtime* into the greater *Requeſt*. To ſpeak of his Advancement by *Degrees*, were to leſſen the Kings Love; for *Titles* were heaped upon him, they came rather like *ſhowers* than *drops*. For as ſoon as *Somerſet* declined, he mounted. *Such is the Court motion!* Knighthood, and Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, were the firſt ſprinklings: and then the old Earl

of



Edward Somerſet Earl of Worceſter.

From the Picture at Gorhambury.

Jmo. 28° 1621

E. Worcester

His Autograph from an Original in the Poſſeſſion of

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of *Worcester* (who had been long Master of the Horse to the late Queen, and continued it to this time) was made Lord Privy Seal, in exchange of his place, and a good sum of money put into the Scale: And Sir *George Villers* (Baron of *Whaddon*, Viscount *Villers*, and Earl of *Buckingham*, also of the Privy Council) is made Master of the Horse. In this glory he visits *Scotland* with the King, and is made a Privy Counsellor there. *Favourites* are not compleat *Figures*, if the Princes Bounty be not *circular*, as well in his *Northerly* motion as his *Southerly*. He now reigns sole *Monarch* in the Kings affection, every thing he doth is admired for the *doers* sake: No man dances better, no man runs, or jumps better; and indeed he jumpt *higher* than ever *Englishman* did in so short a time, from a private Gentleman to a *Dukedom*. But the King is not well without him, his *company* is his *solace*, and the Court Grandees cannot be well but by him, so that all addresses are made to him, either for place, or office in Court or Commonwealth. The Bishops Seas did also ebb and flow, from the Wane or Fulness of his Influence upon them; and having a numerous kindred of the rank of Gentry, which he planted about him, as a Nursery in the Court, to make them *virescere*, and Spring up the better, the Dew of these Offices, and the fresh Springs that came from those Seas must be contributed. It cannot with *modesty* be expressed how greedily some of our Prelates would clear all the passages of a bad Conscience, to bring in such Waters of *comfort*, lest it should bespatter the more worthy, and brand them all with *Simony*, which dares not be done. But where God hath his *Church*, the Devil many times will have his *Chappel*: It was ever his *Ambition* to be like unto him.

Made Earl of *Buckingham*.

But among all the Dances that these Times were guilty of, none of the *Maskaradoes* presented so horrid a *Vizard* as the *Churchmans*: For some of the Bishops, pretending *Recreations*, and *liberty* to servants and the common people (of which they carved to themselves too much already) procured the King to put out a Book to permit dancing about *May-poles*, *Church-ales*, and such debauched Exercises upon the Sabbath-day after Evening Prayer (being a specious way to make the King, and them, acceptable to the *Rout*) which Book came out with a command, injoyning all Ministers to read it to their *Parishioners*, and to approve of it, and those that did not, were brought into the High *Commission*, imprisoned, and suspended. This Book being only a trap to catch some conscientious men, that they could not otherwise with all their cunning insnare: For they would preach the *Gospel* in a *Fools-coat* (as some of them expresst) rather than be silenced for a *Surplis*. And their Conjuring of them with the Cross in Baptism, and the Circle of the Ring in Marriage, could not make a well-composed *Reason*, and a sound *Conscience* then start

The Book of Sports obtruded.

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at it: But when ſo *frightful* an *Apparition* as the *dancing Book* appeared, ſome of the *Miniſters* left all for fear, others by force, they were ſo terrified with it. Theſe, and ſuch like *Machinations* of the Biſhops, to maintain their Temporal Greatneſs, Eaſe, and Plenty, made the *ſtones* in the *walls* of their *Palaces*, and the *beam* in the *timber*, afterwards cry out, moulder away, and come to nothing: Whereas if thoſe in moſt *Authority* had not been ſo *pragmatical*, but holy, prudent, and godly men (as ſome others of the *Function* were) their *light* might have *ſhined* ſtill upon the *Mount*, and not have gone out as it did, offenſive to the *noſtrils* of the rubbiſh of the people.

The King in his return from *Scotland* made his *Progreſs* through the Hunting-countries (his Hounds and Hunters meeting him) *Sherwood-Forreſt*, *Need-wood*, and all the *Parks* and *Forreſts* in his way, were ranſacked for his *Recreation*. And every *night* begat a new *day* of *delight*, till he brought *Holyrood-day* (not * *Holyrood-houſe*) to *White-hall*.

* His Houſe in *Edenburgh* ſo called.

Piety of the Lord Mayor of *London*.

This new incroachment upon the *Sabbath* gave both King and people more liberty to *prophane* the day with *authority*: For if the *Court* were to remove on *Monday*, the Kings Carriages muſt go out the day before. All times were alike; and the Court being to remove to *Theobalds* the next day, the Carriages went through the City of *London* on the Sabbath, with a great deal of clatter and noiſe in the time of *Divine ſervice*. The Lord Mayor hearing of it, commanded them to be ſtopt, and this carried the *Officers* of the Carriages with a great deal of *violence* to the Court, and the buſineſs being preſented to the King with as much aſperity as men in authority (croſſed in their *Humors*) could expreſs it; It put the King into a great *Rage*, *Swearing*, *he thought there had been no more Kings in* England *but himſelf*; yet after he was a little cooled, he ſent a *Warrant* to the Lord Mayor, commanding him to let them paſs, which he obeyed, with this *Anſwer*, *while it was in my power I did my duty, but that being taken away by a higher power, it is my duty to obey*. Which the King upon ſecond thoughts took well, and thanked him for it.

Juggling of the Jeſuits.

As *Prophaneneſs* crept in on one ſide, ſo did *Idolatry* and *Superſtition* on the other; for there was more enmity againſt *Miniſters* of the *Goſpel* than *Popiſh Prieſts*; they ſwarmed over the Kingdom, working *miraculous Projects* in every corner. One *pack* of them got into *Staffordſhire*, among ſome of the *Giffords* in that County, Gentlemen of good Eſtates, where they practiſed their *Artifices* to ſeduce the people. There muſt be a Ground-work, *Eſtates* to keep them (being like the *Gout*, never troubling the poor) and then there muſt be *materials*, Correſpondents to act for them. *Holineſs* and *Piety* muſt be confirmed by *Miracle*, and theſe *Miracles* muſt be viſible to the Peoples eyes, that they may

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may convey *belief* better to the *heart*. If the *Priests* be holy, and can subdue *Satan*, the *Religion* they profess must be heavenly, that triumphs over *principalities*, and *powers*, and *spiritual wickedness*, bringing all to obedience. These are finesses and subtilties of Mastring Wits (calling them *Pie Fraudes*, godly deceits, Worms to bring Fish to the Net) and this kind of *frippery* they are ever fraught with.

The Boy of *Bilson*.

For about this time there was a Boy born at *Bilson* in that County, whose father, mother, neighbours, and many other people, with admiration, did absolutely think possest with a *Devil*; for he had strange, sudden, violent, distorting fits, that appeared to all the beholders contrary to Nature, and being not full fifteen years old, it could not be imagined that any thing of Impostory could result from him, and therefore the *fame* of it was the more remarkable.

The *Jesuits* (that are the best *Physicians* in such *Distempers*) hearing of it, visited the Boy, prayed by him, and used such other Charms and Exorcisms, as are fit to make them to be admired; giving his Parents good hope of dispossessing him of that *foul Spirit*, by which might palpably be discerned, how much Gods power was expresst in their weakness, and difference the *truth*, and *holiness*, betwixt the *Catholick Religion*, and the *Heresie* professed among *Protestants*. So that they that heard them (as many resorted to the place) must needs take them for very *holy men*, by whom such Wonders were to be accomplished. The *Jesuits* visited him often, sometimes in private, sometimes in Company; but this kind of *Spirit* would not be commanded by them; so that they grew almost desperate of the Cure.

Accuses a Woman to be a Witch.

The Boy in his fits would rave against an old woman dwelling near to his Father, intimating by signs, and ghastly behaviour, that she had sent a Spirit to torment him; and in plain terms (when he was out of his fits) accused her to be a *witch*, and the *Author* of all his *misery*. This old woman is sent to the *Bishops Chancellor* at *Lichfield* to be examined; the Boy is brought thither to confront her, and having his back towards her at her coming into the Room, where the *Chancellor* was, before she yet entred or appeared, he falls into a most bitter *Agony*, crying out, *Now she comes, now my Tormentor comes!* wreathing and tearing himself in so horrid a manner, that it did not only breed amazement, but pity in the Spectators, there being many with expectation attending the issue: Which, with some other *probabilities*, were an inducement to the *Chancellor* to send the woman to *Stafford* Goal.

At the next *Assizes* for that County, the Boy and his Parents appear as Witnesses against the *witch*; the Boy was placed in a conspicuous part of the *Court*, with his face to the *Bench*, eying

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ing the Judg continually, in a very peaceable and quiet posture; and as the woman was coming in (when the *Court* thought it impossible the Boy should be sensible of her appearance) he fell into a more raging fit than ever he was possest with before: So stupendiously unnatural, that it was deemed by all that saw it, that nothing but a *Diabolical Spirit* could work such horrid effects. This, thus openly acted, and the Relation of what was done at *Lichfield*, and other *probabilities* evidencing, the old woman (that had no good Reputation among her Neighbours, being of a tetrical and froward temper, incident to old age) found few Friends to plead her Cause; so that being indicted for *Witchcraft*, she was found guilty by the *Jury*, and Condemned to die.

She is condemned.

Bishop *Morton* gets her Reprieve.

Doctor *Morton* Bishop of that *Diocess*, a great *Father* of the *Anglicane Church* (and happily then on the *Bench* about *Secular Affairs*) hearing that some *Romish Priests* had been tampering with their Exorcisms, to the undevilling of the Boy, and finding little reason produced, why, or for what cause, the Witch should use the Child so ill, was perswaded, this might be some *jugling trick* in them, for effecting their *miraculous ends*. He therefore besought the *Judg* to reprieve the woman till the next *Assizes*, and he would take the Boy home with him, have him carefully and strictly looked to, and doubted not before that time to find out the Bottom of some secret and hidden *Imposture*. The *Judg* assented to the *Bishop's* request, and so the Boy was carried to *Ecclesha Castle*, the Bishops House, whither his fits followed him with a great deal of violence. For being put out of his *road* (having formerly all sorts of people come to admire him, and now being more carefully looked to) he grew *fallow*, and would not eat sometimes in two or three days, so that his *belly* was almost clung, and grown to his *back*, and he had a new *swelling* about his *throat*, which never appeared before; lay in his Bed sometimes as it were senseless, sometimes staring with his eyes, and foaming at the mouth, sometimes striking those that stood near him (his own careful mother being one, whom he made all black about the arms and breasts) never spoke but in his fits, and then a strange *gibberish*, at other times he only muttered, and made signs. The Bishop visited him often, striving sometimes to soften him with gentleness, at other times he handled him roughly, with objurgations, and threatnings; but his ill Spirit is capable of neither. He spoke to him one time some of the *Greek Testament*, to see how that would work, and it brought him into his fit. At another time, he uttered some *Verses* out of the *Greek Poets*, which his *Devil* was not so learned as to distinguish, for that put him into a fit again; so that the Bishop was confirmed, that he was an Impostor of a most pernicious, and pertinacious Spirit; but how

Accuses a Woman to be a Witch.

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to *Conjure* it out of him was the difficulty. And finding *words* and *menaces* made no impression in him, he fell to *blows*; for taking him out of his Bed, and having one to hold him, the Bishop gave him six very smart *lashes* with a *Rod*, which moved the Boy no more than if he had been an insensible *stock*. They also thrust *needles* into his toes and fingers, betwixt the nails, clapt burning *candles* to his eye-lids, till they sing'ed the hair off, to divert him when he was in his *fits*; but with all their persecutions he neither winch'd nor stirred, so that the *Actors* were more troubled to *execute* than he to *suffer*.

And in this *condition* growing almost *desperate*, he would make *signs* for knives or any other instrument to do himself a mischief, therefore strict care was taken, and many watchful eyes set over him to prevent any such danger. Thus he continued almost a quarter of a year, at last his *Urine* grew so black, that the *Physicians* thought *Nature had left her usual operations*, having never found in any Human Body so much *sinful matter*, to give so deep and deadly a *tincture*.

The Bishop troubled for the Boy.

This struck the good Bishop very near: For he was certain the *Priests* had been Hammering about him, and now, if he should miscarry under his hand, those *Mint-masters* of mischief would in their dark *shops* coin such *scandals* against him, as might pass current in the Worlds *opinion*; therefore he used all the means he could possible, as well to preserve him, as to discover him: But finding the Boy indure so many Trials with *patience*, so much tough hardship, and robustness, in tender years, he resolved if his water continued black, to *sift* the matter no further. To find out which he set a trusty servant to watch him through a hole that looked into the Chamber upon the Bed, which the Boy knew not of. The Bishop going that morning with his Family to a Lecture, all things were very still in the house, and the Boy finding all quiet, no noise about him, he lifts himself up, stares, and listens, and at length gets out of his Bed, and in the *straw* or *mat* under it, takes out an *Ink-horn*, and makes water in the Chamber-pot through a piece of the *Cotton*, in his hand, another little piece of the *Cotton* he puts into his *Prepuce*, covering it with the skin, and that was for a *Reservel*, if he should be forced to make water when company is by. Thus having cunningly put himself in *order*, he hides the *Ink-horn* again, and returns to his Bed.

The Impostor discovered.

The man that was appointed to watch him seeing all this, discovered it to the Bishop at his coming home, who came to him presently, and askt him how he did? He according to his usual manner pointed to his water, looked ghastly on it, and mutter'd out his old howling tone. The Bishop that meant now to deal roundly with him, said, Sirrah, you have Ink in your bed-straw, which you make use of to black your water, and your

knavery

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knavery is found out; and calling in his man, he took out the Ink-horn where the Boy had hid it, and the man justified, that he saw him make water through the *Cotton*. Which (with the Bishops threatning to send him to the *house* of *Correction*) struck the Boy with such a sudden terror, that he rose from his Bed, fell upon his knees, and humbly besought the Bishop to pardon him, and he would discover to him the whole Truth. And as he put on his *cloaths*, the Bishop laid open the grievousness of his *sin*, which wrought so upon his *spirit*, that he melted into tears, crying to God for *mercy*. *A very strange alteration!* That, what he did but counterfeit, the *Devil* had so hardned in him, that all the Torments and Pains, inflicted by man could not produce a tear, till God that melted the *Rock*, had first touched the *heart*.

His Confession.

Then he confest a Pedler with a pack on his back met him when he was going to *School*, and with many inticing words perswaded him to go to Mr. *Giffords* house, assuring him of good entertainment, and by his *allurements* he went thither with him. There he found four *Romish Priests*, who gave him mony and many fair words, promising him great *matters*, if he would be conformable to their instructions. They were three days teaching him how to demean himself, and after he was well tutor'd, and had practised his *tricks* there privately, then they sent him home to his *father* (who thought he had been lost, and was much troubled for him) to exercise them in a more publick way. He came home in a very distracted manner, to the amazement of his *parents*, and in short time drew much company to visit him, and his *parents* being poor got money from many *charitable people*, which did incourage him to persist in that way. But when the *fame* of his being *possessed* with an evil *Spirit* was sufficiently *bruited abroad*, the *Priests* came to dispossess him, but he found so much sweetness in the *ease*, and profit of that life, that he would not be dis-inchanted by them, though they charmed never so cruelly; for they beat him, and pincht him, and used him bitterly ill, to make him desist. *Thus were the deceivers deceived!* The Bishop askt him why he accused the poor old woman of Witchcraft? He answered, the *Priests* told him he must lay the cause of his being *possest* upon some old woman, and she being known to him, and of a *scolding humour*, he fixt it on her. Then the Bishop askt him how he came to fall into his *fits* a little before the woman appeared in the room, both at her *Examination* and *Arraignment*, his back being towards her? for the first, at *Lichfield*, he said, he heard some about him mutter, *She is here*; which made him cry out, *she comes, she comes*: And for the second, at *Stafford*, he heard the people remove, and her *chains* gingle as she came, which gave him the *sign*. Lastly, he was asked how he made his throat swell,


Jacobus D. G. Rex
Ang Sco Fran et Hib
sould by Robt Peake

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swell, and he shewed, it was by thrusting his tongue (being very long) down his throat, which trick he found out himself; the rest were taught him by the *Priests*. Thus did the Bishop preserve an innocent old woman condemned by the Law to die, discover the abhominable *forgeries* of the *Priests*, and convert a wicked Boy, whom afterwards he bound Apprentice, and proved a good man. This Story I heard from the Bishops own mouth, almost thirty years before it was inserted here. And the *Result* of all is, That *Falshood* with her *painted countenance* appears often as *beautiful* as *Truth* it self, deceiving many, specially in this point of *Witchcraft*, which is a *structure* established in the *vulgar fancy*, that hath many *odd passages* and *ways* opening to it, and is many *story-stories* high; but being well examined, it will not prove (for the most part, I will not say always) paper-proof, as there may be occasion to express in another place.

The King took delight by the *time* of his *Reason* to sound the depth of such *brutish Impostors*, and he discovered many: For in the Beginning of his Reign, *Richard Haydock* of *New-Colledg* in *Oxford*, practised *Physick* in the *day*, and *Preached* in the *night* in his Bed. His *Practice* came by his *Profession*, and his *Preaching* (as he pretended) by *Revelation*: For he would take a *Text* in his sleep, and deliver a good *Sermon* upon it, and though his *Auditory* were willing to silence him, by pulling, haling, and pinching, yet would he pertinaciously persist to the end, and sleep still. The *fame* of this sleeping *Preacher* flies abroad with a light *wing*, which coming to the Kings knowledg, he commanded him to the Court, where he sate up one night to hear him: And when the time came that the *Preacher* thought it was fit for him to be asleep, he began with a *Prayer*, then took a *Text* of *Scripture*, which he significantly enough insisted on a while, but after made an *excursion* against the *Pope*, the *Cross* in *Baptism*, and the last *Canons* of the Church of *England*, and so concluded sleeping. The King would not trouble him that night, letting him rest after his *labours*, but sent for him the next morning, and in *private* handled him so like a cunning *Chirurgion*, that he found out the *sore*; making him confess not only his *sin* and *error* in the *act*, but the *cause* that urged him to it, which was, That he apprehended himself as a buried man in the *University*, being of a *low condition*, and if something *eminent* and *remarkable* did not spring from him, to give life to his *Reputation*, he should never appear any Body, which made him attempt this *Novelty* to be taken notice of. The King finding him ingenuous in his *Confession*, pardoned him, and (after his *Recantation publickly*) gave him preferment in the *Church*. Some others, both men and women, inspired with such *Enthusiasms*, and *fanatick fancies*, he reduced to their right *senses*, applying his *Remedies* suitable to the *Distem-*

The King discovers many Impostors.

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per, wherein he made himself often very merry (being happily practised, to be taken notice of by him) but some of their Stories being a little *coarse*, are not so fit to be here related. And truly the looseness and carelessness of *publick Justice*, sets open a door to such *flagitious* and *nefarious actions*, as *severer times* would never have perpetrated.

Sir *Walter Rawleighs* West-Indian Voyage.

About this time, that gallant Spirit, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, (who in his Recesses in the Tower, had presented in lively *Characters*, the true Image of the *Old World*) made Accesses to the King, whereby he got leave to visit the *New-World* in *America*. Captain *Kemish* (one of his old Seamen and Servants) shewing him a piece of *Ore* in the Tower, of a golden complexion, (a glittering *temptation* to begin the work) assuring him, he could bring him to a *Mine* in *Guiana* of the same *metal*: which (together with *Freedom*, the *Crown* of *Life* and *Being*) gave rise to this enterprise.

The King looking on *Rawleigh* as a man whose *abilities* might better the *Nation*, if improved the right way, gave him Liberty, and a Commission under the great Seal, to equip and set forth Ships, and Men for that service. His *Reputation*, and *merit*, brought many Gentlemen of Quality to venture their Estates, and Persons, upon the *Design*; and being gallantly furnished with all things necessary, either for *Peace* or *War*, they set out; and met no difficulties, till they came to *Cape Vert* in *Africa*; and then they found the Winds averse to them, (contrary to the usual *nature* of it) with many violent Storms, which much impeded their *Voyage*: For they that usually *navigate* betwixt *Cape Vert*, and *America*, run it in less than twenty days, but it took them double the time. And being driven from the Isle of *Bravo* by a Tempest, they left their Cables, Anchors, and Water-Cask behind them; so that by the length of the *Time*, heat of the *Climate*, and their want of *water*, great sickness fell among them, and swept away many of their ablest men, both for Sea and Land.

But with much *patience* and *hardship*, getting sight of the Coast of *Guiana*, they came to an *Anchor* in five *Degrees*, at the River *Caliana*, where they landed their sick men, set up *Barges*, and *Shallops*, which were brought out of *England* in *Quarters*, washed their Ships, and took in fresh Water, being fed and assisted by the *Indians*, that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* had formerly known. Who (in this general *contagion*, having grappled long with sickness, and not yet able to move, otherwise than he was carried in a Chair) gave order to five small Ships to sail into the River *Orenoque* (having Captain *Kemish* for their Conductor) towards the *Mine*, the *Star* that directed them thither. And in these five Ships were five Foot-Companies, under the Command of Captain *Parker*, and Captain *North*, Brothers to the

the Lord *Monteagle*, and the Lord *North*; Captain *Walter Raleigh*, the General's eldeſt Son; Captain *Thornhurſt*, and Captain *Chidley*, Gentlemen of great Valour, and infinite Patience, in ſuffering hunger, heat and labour. Major *Pigot* died in the miſerable Paſſage, and Sir *Warham Santleger* (who was Lieutenant Colonel) lay ſick, without hope of life; ſo that the Command of the five Companies being conferred upon *George Raleigh*, the General's Nephew (made Major, in *Pigot*'s room) he was not ſo well obeyed, as the Enterpriſe required. As they paſt up the River, the *Spaniards* began the War, and ſhot at the Ships, both with their Ordnance, and Musket: but they landed their Forces, without any great loſs, near unto a Town upon the River, called Saint *Thome*, and gallantly charged the Enemy to the very Ports; where finding ſome little oppoſition, they at laſt forced a paſſage, and made themſelves Maſters of the Town. In the Aſſault, Captain *Walter Raleigh*, the General's Son (a Man of fire and courage, fitter to execute, than to order his Valour) was ſlain, to the great grief of the Conquerours.

The other five Ships ſtaid with the General at *Trinidado*, having no other Port capable of them near *Guiana*. The firſt was commanded by the General himſelf; the ſecond by Captain *John Bennington*, Vice-Admiral; the third by Sir *Warham Santleger*; the fourth by Sir *John Fern*; the fifth by Captain *Chidley* of *Devonſhire*. The General had twelve Ships in all, ſet out with him; But Captain *Whitney* and Captain *Wolleſton* mutined againſt him, and run home again from the *Granadoes*. With theſe five Ships they daily attended the *Armada* of *Spain*, and had they ſet upon them, their Force divided (one half being in *Orinoque*, a hundred and fifty miles from them) they in *Trinidado* had not only been indangered, but all thoſe in the River had alſo periſhed. And though theſe five Ships with the General were but of little Defence againſt ſo ſtrong a *power* as the King of *Spain*'s Gallions, yet they would have given them their hands full, for they were all reſolved to have burned, and died by their ſides. But the *Armada* ſtaid for them at *Margarita*, by which Iſland they expected them to paſs towards the *Indies*.

The Deſign diſcovered to *Gondamar*.

For the King, unwilling to diſpleaſe his Brother of *Spain*, commanded Sir *Walter Raleigh* upon his Allegiance, before he went out, to ſet down under his hand, the Country, and the River, which he was to enter, the compleat number of his Men, the burthen of his Ships, and what Ordnance every Ship carried; which being made known to the Count *Gondamar*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador here, and by him in Poſt to the King of *Spain*, A Diſpatch was made by that King to the *Indies*, and his Letters ſent from *Madrid*, before Sir *Walter Raleigh* with his

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Fleet departed out of the River *Thames*. For the firſt Letter ſent by a Bark of Advice, was dated the 19th of *March*, 1617. at *Madrid*. The ſecond Letter was ſent by a *Carvell* to *Diego de Palomeque*, at *Trinidado*. The third Letter by the Biſhop of *Puerto Rico*; and the fourth was ſent by the Farmer and Secretary of the *Cuſtoms*, at the ſame time. By that of the King's hand there was alſo a Commiſſion, for the ſpeedy leavying of three thouſand men, and ten pieces of Ordnance, to be ſent from *Puerto Rico*, for the defence of *Guiana*. Theſe Proviſions were made to entertain the *Engliſh*, and had they met them, they would have found a harſh Banquet.

But the *Spaniards* at Saint *Thome* (their Supplies being not come) were not ſo numerous as to defend both the Town, and the Paſſages to the Mines; therefore they quitted the Town, and fortified the way to the Mines near the Town. But the Paſſages leading to the Mine that *Kemiſh* had in his Eye, were *Aſpera & fragoſa*, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* expreſt them; and *Kemiſh* found the River ſo low, that he could not approach the banks, in moſt places near the Mine, by a mile; and where he found an aſcent, a Volley of Muſquets came from the Woods, and at one time ſlew two of the Rowers, hurt ſix others, and ſhot a valiant Gentleman, Captain *Thornhurſt*, in the head, of which he with great difficulty recovered. *Kemiſh* ſeeing ſo much hazard in attempting to find the Mine, the Paſſage to it being full of thick and impaſſable Woods, and thinking the *Engliſh* that were left in the Town of Saint *Thome*, would not be able to defend it, eſpecially if the Enemy ſhould be recruited, the Country being all in Alarum, he gave over the Enterpriſe, and returned. For if he ſhould have diſcovered the Mine, he had no men (as he pretended) to work in it; and being a great way up into the Land, men would have been got thither with much danger, and difficulty. And that was true. The *Spaniards* themſelves complain for want of *Negroes* to work in their Mines; for the *Indians* cannot be conſtrained, by a Law of *Charles* the Fifth; and the *Spaniards* will not, neither can they endure the *labour*. But this was ill adviſed, to take ſo much pains, and run ſo much hazard, to get and poſſeſs that, which when they had it, they could not make uſe of it; ſo that which *Kemiſh* pleaded (when he returned) for an *excuſe*, reflected upon him as a great *miſcarriage*. As ſoon as he came to Saint *Thome*, the *Engliſh* pillaged the Town, carried away the beſt, and moſt portable things, and the Enemy not daring to appear for the Redemption of it, they ſet it a-fire, leaving behind them an infinite maſſe of Treaſure, which either for want of *knowledge*, or *power*, they could not attain to. For there were two Gold Mines near the Town, the one poſſeſſed by *Roderigo de Parama*, the other by *Herman Frontino*, and a Silver Mine by *Franciſco*

Franciſco Faſhardo: to preſerve and fortifie which, they imployed all their *ſtrength* and *induſtry*; ſo that they needed not have gone ſo far up the River to find a new *Mine*, when they had ſo many nearer them, that either *ignorance* or want of *ſtrength* made them *neglect*.

Raleigh troubled.

The General, with the news of the *death* of his Son, and *Kemiſhe*'s return without effecting his work, was perplexed to the very ſoul, telling *Kemiſh* he had undone him, and wounded his *credit* with the King, paſt *recovery*; but he muſt think (he told him) to bear the weight of the King's anger as well as himſelf; for he muſt avow that *Kemiſh* knew the *Mine*, and that with little loſs he might have poſſeſſed it. *Kemiſh* much troubled in his mind, retires to his *Cabin*, which he had in the General's Ship, and preſently after his being there, he ſhot himſelf with a *Piſtol*; the General hearing the noiſe, askt what *Piſtol* it was? Anſwer was made, that Captain *Kemiſh* ſhot it off in his *Cabin* to cleanſe it; but *Kemiſhe*'s man going into the *Cabin*, found his Maſter lying in his own blood: the *Piſtol* having a little bullet did only crack the *rib*, which being too ſlow for his *fury*, he deſperately thruſt a knife in after it up to the haft; and with him the *Glory* of the *Voyage* expired. For the *Deſign* being thus broken, the Ships leaky, Victuals failing, and miſſing of thoſe *golden ſhowers* they gaped after (that *Radical moiſture* which fills the veins of the affections, and gives life and vigor to all *actions*) ſome of the men began to mutiny againſt the General, others were for him; ſome would have him go home, others would have him ſtay; the *major* part forced him to ſwear not to go home but by their allowance; and yet his Ships dwindled away one after another (his ſtrength was beſt diſcovered by his weakneſs) ten Ships being reduced to four, and thoſe would do what they liſt. Some would go for *Italy*, ſome for *France*, few for *England*, fearing the *Spaniſh Power* there more than they did in the *Indies*. Thus they were ſhatter'd in judgment, with a greater *Tempeſt* than the *Seas* or *Winds* could produce. *Miſerable is that Government where the Multitude is Maſter!* At laſt he is brought to *Kinſale* in *Ireland*.

Kemiſh kills himſelf.

Gondomar incenſes the King againſt *Raleigh*. 1618.

The *news* of taking and burning St. *Thome* coming to *Gondemar*, he beſieges, and (as it were) aſſaults the King with importunity for *Reparation*: For he was a man not only of an inſinuating and gloſing *ſpirit*, but of a violent and fiery *temper*, when any croſs accident blew up the *humor*. The matter is aggravated with the higheſt *circumſtances* by thoſe of the *Spaniſh Faction*, as if this irruption of *Raleigh*'s, not only tended to the breach of the Treaty of Marriage betwixt Prince *Charles*, and the *Infanta* of *Spain* (that was then in *motion*) but to the infringement of the *Peace* and *Amity*, eſtabliſhed betwixt the two Crowns. The King's fears being heightned to *Anger*, he diſ-

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avows the *Action*, and left others of his *Subjects* should by this *example* take the boldness to attempt the like *Hostility* against the King of *Spain*, he puts out a *Proclamation*, wherein he shews his *detestation* of such *proceedings*, and threatens severe *punishment* to the *enterprisers*, thereby to deter them. Which gave *Gondemar* some satisfaction, whose design being only to get Sir *Walter Raleigh* home (after this brush) vented little *passion*, but so cunningly skinned over his *malice*, that when *Raleigh* was in *Ireland*, he found, nor heard of no such great difficulties (*Dangers often flying upon the wings of rumor*) but that he might appear in *England*, and the men not willing to be banished their own Country (though some of them had *France* in their eye) put in at *Plimouth*. *Raleigh* was no sooner ashore, but he had private intimation, which gave him cause to suspect, the smoothness of this beginning would have a rough end; therefore he attempted an escape from thence in a bark of *Rochel*: But being apprehended by Sir *Lewis Stukly* (his Kinsman) who had private warrant and instructions to that purpose (so unnatural and servile is the *spirit*, when it hath an allay of *baseness*, there being many others fitter for that employment) he is brought to *London*, and recommitted to the Tower.

He is committed to the Tower.

He was no sooner in the Tower, but all his Transactions in this business are put to the *Rack*, and tenter'd by his *Adversaries*. They say he knew of no *Mine*, nor did *Kemish* know that the *Mine* he aimed at was *Gold*; but *Kemish* bringing him a piece of *Ore* into the Tower, he fobb'd a piece of *Gold* into it in dissolving, making the poor man believe the *Ore* was right, that by these golden *degrees*, he might ascend to *Liberty*, promising the King to fetch it where never *Spaniard* had been. But when *Kemish* found by better experience he was couzen'd by *Raleigh*, he came back from the *Mine*: And *Raleigh* knowing that none but *Kemish* could accuse him, made him away. This *Vizard* was put upon the face of the *Action*, and all the weight of the *Miscarriage* was laid upon *Raleigh*'s shoulders.

Gondemar that looked upon him as a man that had not only high *Abilities*, but *Animosity* enough to do his Master mischief (being one of those *Scourges*, which that *old Virago*, (the late Queen) as he called her, used to afflict the *Spaniards* with) having gotten him into this Trap, laid now his baits about the King. There is *a strange virtue in this spirit of Sol!* the *intenseness* makes men firm, the *ductilness* brings them to be *active*. *French Crowns* are not so pure, nor so piercing as *Spanish Pistols*. *Auri sacra fames! quid non mortalia pectora cogis?* The King that loved his *Peace*, is incensed by them that loved their *Profit*, and the poor Gentleman must lay down the price of his life upon the old *Reckoning*.

In *October* this year he is brought to the King's-bench Bar at *Westminster*


Cadiz
St Pauls Road
Enlightened

Weſtminſter, where the Records of his Arraignment at *Wincheſter* were opened, and he demanded why *Execution* ſhould not be done upon him, according to the *Judgment* therein pronounced againſt him? To which in way of anſwer he began to juſtifie himſelf in the proceedings of the late *Voyage*; but the Lord Chief Juſtice wiſhed him to ſpare that trouble; for there was no other *matter* in queſtion but the former *Judgment*, which the King would have executed upon him, for ſome occaſions beſt known to himſelf, unleſs he could ſhew good cauſe to the contrary.

Raleigh anſwered, That he was told by his Council, that *Judgment* was void, by the Commiſſion his Majeſty was pleaſed to give him ſince under the Great Seal for his laſt Employment, which did give him a new *vigour* and *life* to that *ſervice*. The Lord chief Juſtice replyed that he was deceived, and that the *opinion* of the *Court* was to the contrary. Then he deſired that ſome reaſonable time might be allowed him to prepare for *Death*; but it was anſwered, That the time appointed was the next *morning*, and it was not to be doubted, but he had prepared himſelf for *death* long ſince. *Raleigh* having a *courageous ſpirit* (finding the bent of the King's mind, and knowing *Diſputes* to be in vain, where *Controverſies* are determined) *acquieſc'd*, was conveyed to the *Gatehouſe*, and the day following was brought to the *Old Palace yard* at *Weſtminſter*, and upon a Scaffold there erected, loſt his head. And Beheaded.

He had in the *outward man* a good *preſence*, in a handſom and well-compacted *perſon*, a ſtrong natural *wit*, and a better *judgment*, with a bold and plauſible tongue, whereby he could ſet off his *parts* to the beſt advantage. And to theſe he had the *Adjuncts* of general *Learning*, which (by *Diligence* and *Experience* (thoſe two great *Tutors*) being now threeſcore years of *age*) was augmented to a great *perfection*, being an indefatigable *Reader*, and having a very retentive *memory*. At his Arraignment at *Wincheſter*, his *carriage* to his Judges was with great *diſcretion*; humble, yet not proſtrate; dutiful, yet not dejected: Towards the *Jury* affable, but not fawning; not in deſpair, nor believing, but hoping in them; carefully perſwading them with *Reaſons*, not diſtemperately importuning them with *Conjurations*; rather ſhewing love of *life* than fear of *death*. Towards the King's Council patient, but not inſenſibly neglecting, nor yielding to Imputations laid againſt him in words (which Sir *Edward Cook*, then the King's *Attorney*, belched out freely) and it was wondred a man of his high *ſpirit* could be ſo humble in ſuffering, not being much overtaken in paſſion. And now at his laſt, when *Death* was preſented before him, he looked upon it without affrightment, ſtriving to *vindicate* his *Actions*, by taking off the *veil* that *falſe Reports* had caſt upon them (eſpecially the *Imputation* His character, and deſcription.

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Imputation of his glorying, and rejoycing in the *fall*, & at the *death* of the late E. of *Essex*, wch had stuck so many years in his breast; & this new *marriage* of *Kemish*'s of a later date imputed to him) for having provided himself privately for *heaven*, clearing his *Accounts* with God before he came to the *Scaffold*. He publickly at last *reckon'd* with man (being to quit all *scores*) and so made an end.

Disunion in the United Provinces.

Times of *Peace* are accounted the happiest times, and though they are great *Blessings*, proceeding from the influence of *supreme Mercy*, and the *showers* of *Grace*, yet the branches of the Tree of *Knowledge* (growing by this *Sun shine*) for want of due pruning, do often become so exuberant, that their very *fruits* are not only their *burthen*, but sometimes their *ruin*. *Prosperity* is of an *Airy constitution*, carried about with the breath of *strange fancies*, which mount sometimes as high as *Omnipotency*; but there finding resistance, they come down amain, and beat the lower *Region* with a *Tempest* of *Strife* and *Malice*. When the *Romans* wanted *Enemies*, they digged them out of their own *bowels*. *Active Spirits* will be let on work.

Our Neighbours of the *Netherlands* (that had so long bounded the *Spanish Power*, & humbled their *Pride* so far, as to acknowledg them a *Free-State*, before they would so much as listen to an *Overture* of *Peace*) had a fire kindled in their own *bosomes*. It is now some time since the 12 years Truce betwixt *Spain* & them began, being in the *Wain*, & *last Quarter*. While they had their hands full of *business*, they had not their *heads* full of *old Curiosities*. Now like *Plethorique bodies*, that want letting blood, they break out into *distemper*; A *Schism* in the *Church*, and a *Faction* in the *State*.

The first *Author* of the *Schism* was *Arminius*; of the *Faction*, *Barnevelt*; Persons of great *parts* and *power* (though of different *natures*.) The one had been *Divinity-Professor* at *Leyden*, the other the *Manager* of all the great affairs of the *State*. *Distempers in Kingdoms and States, are like madness in bodies, which doth not break out till some accident doth stir the humor.* *Arminius* dyed just upon the beginning of the Treaty, which was in the year 1609. Leaving behind him the seeds of this *Pelagian Heresie*, which though it were cherished much by some, in whose *bosomes* he had sown it, yet happily it might never have taken root, had not *Peace* and *Ease* manured it, and made it fruitful. The *Mysteries* of *Predestination*, and the ineffable *Essence* of God (*Quæ tremenda & admiranda sunt, sed non scrutanda* (to use our King's own words) which are to be trembled at, and admired, not pried into) are the great *Theme*. Such *intuitions* are too high for flesh and blood: Yet what will not *Pragmatical spirits* do, when they proudly look into *Divine* things with the *Eye* of *Reason*, not humbly with the *Eye* of *Faith*?

This *Rupture* in the *Bowels* of the *Church* grew so great, that it indangered the *Body* of the *State*. The chief *Rulers* and *Magistrates*,


M. Mierevelt pinx.
IBury sculp.
Rombout Hogerbeets, pensionaris
der Stad Leyden.

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ſtrates, in the ſeveral *Provinces*, being tainted with this *Error*, ſtrove to eſtabliſh it by *Power*; among whom *Barnevelt* was a *Principal Agent*, who by the aſſiſtance of *Hoogenberts* of *Leyden*, *Grotius* of *Roterdam*, and *Leidenburgh* Secretary of *Utrecht*, with others their adherents, drew on the *Deſign*, which was to ſuppreſs the *Proteſtant Reformed Religion*, and eſtabliſh the *Tenents* of *Arminius*, being fomented by the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, as the immediate way to introduce *Popery*. This went on ſo ſmoothly, that the *Orthodox Miniſters* were expelled out of their principal Towns, and none but *Arminians* admitted to preach to the people, which in ſome places bred many *combuſtions*, that tended to nothing but *popular Confuſion*.

But long before this time, our King ſaw the *Storm* coming upon them: For in the year 1611 he forewarns the *State*, telling them, that by the unhappy *ſucceſſion* of two ſuch *Prodigies* in one *Sphere*, as *Arminius* and *Vorſtius*, ſome dreadful miſchief would ſucceed. For *Arminius* was no ſooner dead, but thoſe that drew on the *Deſign*, had an *eye* on *Vorſtius* his *Diſciple*, to make him *Divinity-Profeſſor* in his place; which the King hearing of, and having read ſome of *Vorſtius blaſphemous Writings*, ſends to his then *Ambaſſador* Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Reſident there, to let the *State* know that *Vorſtius* rather deſerved *puniſhment* than *promotion*; that the *head* of ſuch a *Viper* ſhould be trod upon, and cruſhed, that was likely to eat his way through the *bowels* of the *State*. And if they (nevertheleſs) would perſiſt to prefer him, he would make known to the World publickly in Print, how much he deteſted ſuch abominable *Hereſies*, and all allowers and tolerators of them.

Our King forewarns them of it *An.* 1611.

The *Ambaſſador* urging the King's *deſires*, they returned a long Anſwer in *juſtification* of *Vorſtius*.

"Firſt, That the *Curators* of the *Univerſity* of *Leyden* (accor-
"ding to their *duty*, and the ancient *cuſtom* ever ſince the *foun-*
"*dation* of that *Univerſity*) having diligently made inquiry for
"ſome *Doctor* to be choſen in the place of *Divinity-Profeſſor*
"there, at that time void, after *mature deliberation*, they made
"election of *Conradus Vorſtius* to that place. Which Election
"and Calling, was countermined preſently after, by certain
"perſons, to whoſe *Office* or *Diſpoſal*, the buſineſs did nothing
"at all belong; who charged the ſaid *Vorſtius* with *unſoundneſs*
"of *Doctrine*; whereupon the *Curators* thought fit (with the
"good liking of *Vorſtius* himſelf) that both at *Leyden*, and at
"the *Hague*, he ſhould appear in his own *juſtification*, to anſwer
"all *Accuſers*; which he did, and there came none to charge him.
"But not long after, ſix Miniſters undertook to prove, That
"*Vorſtius* had publiſhed *falſe Doctrine*, who being heard in a full
"*Aſſembly* of the *States* of *Holland* and *Weſtfrizeland*, they could
"by their *Arguments* find no reaſon, why the *Execution* of what
"was

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'was done by the *Curators* lawfully, ought to be hindred or "impeached. And they do assuredly believe, that if his Maje-"sty of *Great Britain* were well informed of the true Cir-"cumstances of this business, he would, according to his *high* "*wisdom*, and *prudence*, conceive favourably of them, they "proceeding in this business with all reverence, care and re-"spect, to his Majestie's serious admonition. *Dated at the* Hague "1 Octob. 1611.

Vorstius's Books burned by the King.

The King seeing which way the *States* went, by the print of the footing that *Vorstius* had set among them, caused his Books publickly to be burned in *Paul*'s Church-yard, and both the *Universities*. And not giving it over, writes to them again, to be mindful of the *glory of God*, and not suffer such *scandalous members* to remain in the *body* of the true *Reformed Church*, that maintain such execrable *Blasphemies*, as to deny the *Eternity* and *Omnipotency of God*: Therefore he desires them so much to mind the *glory* of God, and their own *honour*, and *safety*, as to extirpate such *Atheisms*, and *Heresies*. But if they suffer such *pestilent Hereticks* to nestle among them (who dare take upon them the licentious *liberty* to fetch again from *Hell* ancient *Heresies* long since condemned, and invent new ones of their own, to the depravation of the true *Catholick Church*) he should be constrained publickly to protest against them. *Dated at* Theobalds 6 Octob. 1611.

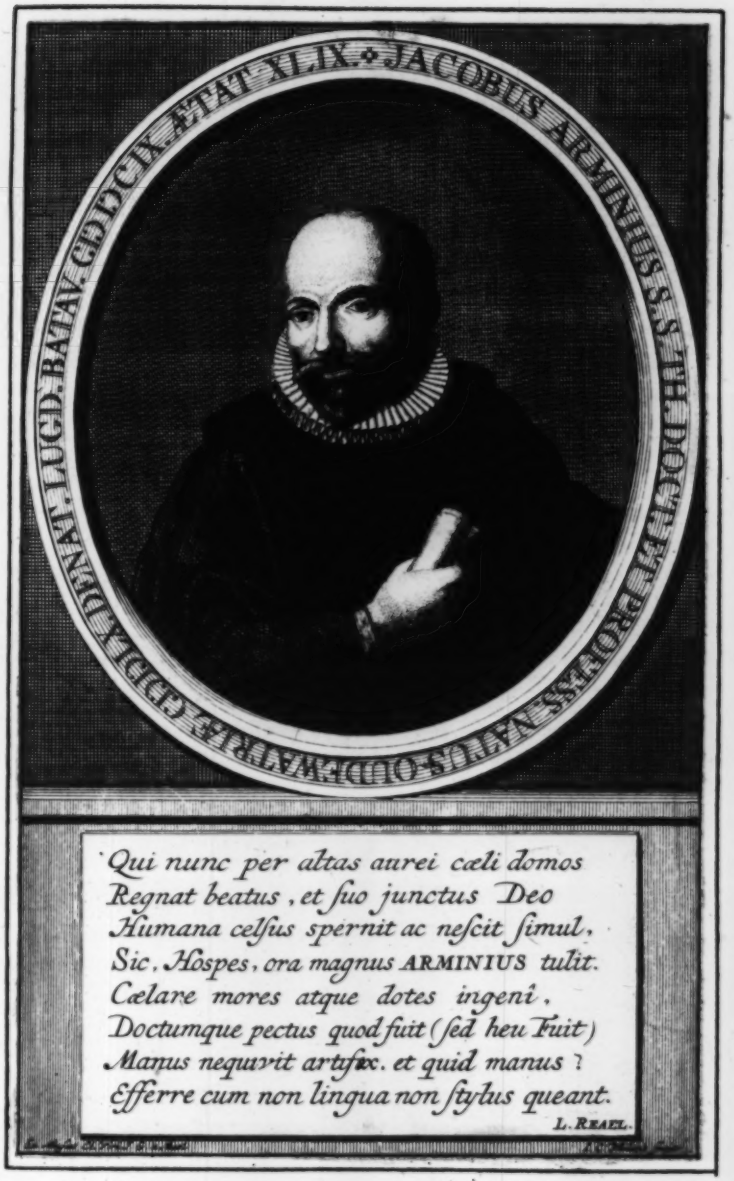
Sir *Ralph Winwood* represented this Letter to the *States*, and finding them cold and backward in proceeding any further against *Vorstius*, according to the King's *Directions* to him, he made this *Remonstrance* to them.

Sir *Ralph Winwood*'s Remonstrance to the States.

My Lords,

"IF ever the King of *Great Britain*, my Master, hath merit-"ed any thing of this *State*, (and how much he hath me-"rited, in respect of his great *favours*, and *Royal assistances*, "your Lordships acknowledging them with all *gratitude*, can "best judge and witness) he hath surely merited at this pre-"sent, having by his Letters full of *zeal* and *piety*, which he "hath written unto you, endeavoured to procure the esta-"blishment of that Religion only within your *Provinces*, "which the *Reformed Churches* of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ger-"many*, by a mutual *consent* have generally *imbraced*. For "what is it to his Majesty whether Doctor *Vorstius* be admit-"ted *Professor* in the *University* of *Leyden*, or not? or whether "the *Doctrine* of *Arminius* be preached in your *Churches*? sa-"ving that as a *Christian Prince*, he desires the advancement of "the *Gospel*, and as your best Friend and Allie, the strength-"ning of your *Commonwealth*, whose *first Foundations were ce-"mented with the blood of his Subjects*; and which in his judg-

"ment



Qui nunc per altas aurei cæli domos
Regnat beatus, et ſuo junctus Deo
Humana celſus ſpernit ac neſcit ſimul,
Sic, Hoſpes, ora magnus ARMINIUS *tulit.*
Cælare mores atque dotes ingeni,
Doctumque pectus quod fuit (ſed heu Fuit)
Manus nequivit artifex. et quid manus?
Efferre cum non lingua non ſtylus queant.

L. REAEL.

"ment can no way subsist, if wittingly and willingly you suffer "the *Reformed Religion* to be (either by the practices of your "*Doctors* sophisticated, or by their *malice*) depraved. If there- "fore *Religion* be as it were the *Palladium* of your *Common-* "*wealth*, and that to preserve the one in her *glory*, and *perfection*, "be to maintain the other in her *purity*, let your selves then "be Judges, in how great a danger the State must needs be at "this present, so long as you permit the Schisms of *Arminius* "to have such *vogue* (as now they have) in the *principal Towns* "of *Holland*; and if you suffer *Vorstius* to be received *Divinity-* "*Professor* in the *University* of *Leyden* (the *Seminary* of your "*Church*) who in scorn of the holy Word of God, hath after "his own *fancy*, devised a new *Sect*, patched together of se- "veral Pieces of all sorts of antient and modern Heresies. "*The Fool said in his heart, there is no God:* But he that with an "open mouth, of set purpose, and prepensed malice, hath let "his *Pen* run at random, to disgorge so many *blasphemies* a- "gainst the sacred Majesty of God, this Fellow shall wear the "Garland of all that ever yet were heard of, since the Means of "the Gospel, the Light of Christian Religion, hath shined "unto the World. If any man doubt of it, for a proof see "here what his Majesty, with his own hand, hath collected "out of his Writings. *And then presenting them a Paper, he pro-* "*ceeded.*

"These are, in part, the *opinions* of that great *Divine*, who is "chosen to domineer in the Chair at *Leyden*: In opposition "whereunto, I mean not to say any thing, but that which the "*Roman Orator* did once pronounce in the like Case, *Mala est,* "*& impia consuetudo, contra Deum disputandi, sive serio id fit, sive si-* "*mulatè*; It is an evil and wicked Custom to dispute against "God, whether it be in earnest, or in jest.

"Now my Lords, I address my self unto you, and according "to the Charge which I have received from the King my Ma- "ster, I conjure you by the *amity* that is betwixt his King- "doms, and your Provinces, to awaken your Spirits, and to "have a *careful eye* at this Assembly of *Holland* (which is al- "ready begun) *ne quid Respublica detrimenti capiat*, that the "Commonwealth take no harm; which undoubtedly at one "time or other will be turned upside down, if you suffer "such a dangerous Contagion to harbour so near you, and not "remove it as soon as possibly you may. The Disciples of "*Socinus* (with whose Doctrine *Vorstius* hath been suckled in his "Childhood) do seek him for their Master, and are ready to "embrace him. Let him go, he is a Bird of their own fea- "ther, *Et dignum sanè patellâ operculum*, A fit Cover for such "a Dish.

"On the other side, the Students in Divinity at *Leyden*, to

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"the number of ſix and fifty, by a dutiful *Remonſtrance* pre-
"ſented unto the States of *Holland* the ſixteenth of *October*, the
"laſt year, being 1610. did moſt humbly beſeech the ſaid
"States, not to uſe their authority in compelling them to re-
"ceive a *Profeſſor*, who both by the atteſtations of the Divi-
"nity-Colleges at *Baſil*, and *Heydelberg*, as alſo by manifeſt evi-
"dence out of his own Writings, is convinced of a number of
"manifeſt Hereſies.

"These *Reaſons* therefore, namely, the many enormous and
"horrible Hereſies maintained by him; the Inſtance of his
"Majeſty, grounded upon the welfare and honour of this
"Country, the Requeſts either of all, or of the moſt part of
"your *Provinces*; the Petitions of all the *Miniſters* (excepting
"thoſe only which are of *Arminius*'s Sect) ſhould methinks
"prevail ſo far with my Lords the States of *Holland*, as they
"will at the laſt apply themſelves to the performance of that,
"which both the *ſincerity* of *Religion*, and the *ſervice* of their
"*Country*, requireth at their hands.

"Furthermore, I have Commandment from his Majeſty,
"to move you in his name, to ſet down ſome certain *Reglement*
"in matters of *Religion*, throughout your *Provinces*, that this
"licentious Freedom of Diſputation may be reſtrained,
"which breeds *factions*, and *part-takings*; and that you would
"abſolutely take away the Liberty of *Propheſying*, which *Vor-
"ſtius* doth ſo much recommend unto you in the Dedicatory
"Epiſtle of his *Anti-Bellarmine*, the book whereof his Patrons
"do boaſt ſo much.

"And his Majeſty doth exhort you, ſeeing you have here-
"tofore taken Arms for the Liberty of your Conſciences, and
"have endured a violent and bloody War the ſpace of forty
"years, for the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, that now having
"gotten the upper hand of your *miſeries*, you would not ſuffer
"the Followers of *Arminius* to make your *actions* an example
"for them to proclaim throughout the World that wicked
"Doctrine of the *Apoſtacy* of the *Saints*. The account which
"his Majeſty doth make of your *amity*, appears ſufficiently by
"the Treaties which he made with your *Lordſhips*, by the *ſuc-
"cours* which your *Provinces* have received from his *Crowns*,
"by the deluge of *blood*, which his *Subjects* have ſpent in your
"Wars. *Religion is the only ſolder of this Amity.* For his Ma-
"jeſty being by the grace of God *Defender of the Faith*, doth
"hold himſelf obliged to defend all thoſe who profeſs the
"ſame *Faith* and *Religion* with him: But if once your *zeal* be-
"gins to grow cold therein, his Majeſty will then ſtraight-
"ways imagin, that your *friendſhip* towards him, and his Sub-
"jects, will likewiſe freeze by little and little.

This



The Right Honourable
S.r RALPH WINWOOD Kn.t

This was the effect of Sir *Ralph Winwood*'s Remonſtrance, to which, after ſix weeks delay, he received this cold and ambiguous Anſwer.

The States anſwer.

"THat the *States General* had deliberated upon his Majeſtie's Propoſition, and Letter dated the *6 Oct.* 1611. and "do give him humble Thanks for the continuance of his "*Royal affection* towards the welfare of their Country, and "preſervation of *Religion*. And that they had entred into Conſultation concerning the *Articles* charged againſt *Vorſtius*; "and the *Curators* of *Leyden* did thereupon make an Order proviſional, that *Vorſtius* ſhould not be admitted to the Exerciſe "of his *Place*, but remain in *Leyden* only as an Inhabitant, and "Citizen. And in caſe *Vorſtius* ſhould not be able to clear himſelf from thoſe Accuſations which were laid to his Charge, "at or before the next *Aſſembly* (which was to be holden in "*Feb.* following) that then they would decide the Matter with "good contentment to his Majeſty.

But this Anſwer ſtill ſavouring of *delays*, could not in effect be eſteemed leſs than an abſolute refuſal to yield to the King's deſires; beſides, the *ſpecious Separation* of *Vorſtius* as a Citizen, was only to ſatisfie the King at preſent; for he (after) notwithſtanding exerciſed his Place of *Profeſſor*. Whereupon Sir *Ralph Winwood* knowing the King's mind, made this Proteſtation in their *Publick Aſſembly*.

Sir *Ralph Winwood*'s Proteſtation.

My Lords,

"THere is not any one of you, I ſuppoſe, in this *Aſſembly*, "that will not acknowledge the *brotherly love* where"with the King, my Maſter, hath always affected the good "of your *Provinces*, and the *fatherly care* which he hath ever "had to procure the *eſtabliſhment* of your State. In which re"ſpect, his Majeſty having underſtood, that *Vorſtius* was elect"ed Divinity-Profeſſor of *Leyden*, a Perſon attainted by many "Witneſſes, *Juris & facti*, of a number of *Hereſies*, is therewith "exceedingly offended. And for the timely prevention of an "infinite of *evils*, did give me in charge to exhort you (which "I did the 21 of *September* laſt) to waſh your hands from that "Man, and not ſuffer him to come within your *Country*. "To this Exhortation your Anſwer was, *That all due obſervance "and regard ſhould be had unto his Majeſty*: But his Majeſty "hath received ſo little *reſpect* herein, that inſtead of debar"ring *Vorſtius* from coming into the *Country* (which even by "the *Laws* of *Friendſhip* his Majeſty might have required) the "Proceedings have been clean contrary; for he is permitted "to come to *Leyden*, hath been received there with all *honour*,

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"taken up his habitation, treated and lodged in the *quality* of a "*publick Profeſſor*. His Majeſty perceiving his firſt motion had "ſo little prevailed, writ a Letter to you to the ſame purpoſe, "full of zeal and affection, perſuading you by many *Reaſons*, "not to ſtain your own *honor*, and the *honor* of the *Reformed* "*Churches*, by calling unto you that wretched and wicked *A-* "*theiſt*. Theſe Letters were preſented to this *Aſſembly*, the fifth of "*November* laſt, at which time by his Majeſtie's command I uſed "ſome ſpeech my ſelf to the ſame effect. Some ſix weeks after "I received an anſwer, but ſo confuſed, ambiguous, and imper- "tinent, that I have reaſon to conceive there is no meaning at "all to ſend *Vorſtius* away, who is at preſent in *Leyden*, re "ceived, acknowledged, reſpected, and treated as *publick Pro-* "*feſſor*, whether it be to grace that *Univerſity* inſtead of the "deceaſed *Joſeph Scaliger*, or whether to give him means to do "more miſchief in *ſecret*, which perhaps for ſhame he durſt "not in *publick*, I cannot tell. For theſe reaſons, according to "that charge which I have received from the King my Maſter, "I do in his name, and on his behalf, *proteſt* in this Aſſembly, "againſt the wrong, injury, and ſcandal, done unto the Refor- "med Religion, by receiving, and retaining *Conradus Vorſtius* "in the Univerſity of *Leyden*, and againſt the violence offered "unto that Alliance which is betwixt his Majeſty and your *Pro-* "*vinces*; which being founded upon the *preſervation*, and main- "tenance of the Reformed Religion, you have not omitted to "*violate*, in the proceeding of this cauſe. Of which enormous "*indignities* committed againſt the Church of God, and againſt "his Majeſtie's perſon, in preferring the *preſence* of *Vorſtius*, be- "fore his *amity* and *alliance*, the King my Maſter holds him- "ſelf bound to be ſenſible, and if Reparation be not made, and "that *ſpeedily* (which cannot be by any other means, than by "ſending *Vorſtius* away) his Majeſty will make it appear unto "the World by ſome Declaration (which he will cauſe to be "printed and publiſhed) how much he deteſts the *Atheiſms*, "and *Hereſies* of *Vorſtius*, and all thoſe that maintain, favour, and "cheriſh them.

To this the States promiſed a better Anſwer at their next *Aſſembly*, but that producing no good effect, the King writes a *Declaration* againſt *Vorſtius*, which is extant in his own *Works*, collected by Doctor *James Montague*, ſon to Sir *Edward Monta-gue* of *Bowghton* in the County of *Northampton*, Knight, then Bi-ſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Dean of his Majeſtie's Chappel; in which *Volume* is depainted the King's excellent *ſpirit*, and many *Royal Graces* tending to *Religion* and *Piety*.

Thus the States let in a *Deluge* of Impiety, by being ſo perti-naciouſly affected to *Vorſtius*, and though he lived not long a-mong



IOSEPHVS, SCALIGER—

N. L'armessin. sculpebat.



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mong them, yet what he had planted grew up abundantly, and were the bitter *Roots* of theſe *preſent Diviſions*.

And after, in the year 1613. there were many *Diſcords* among them, which our King hearing of, he incited the States by Letters again (ſo willing he was to have *Unity* among them) that this *War* of the *Tongue* might be pacified rather by publick *Authority* than *School Diſputations*, and by his *Mediation*, for a good time the *Humor* was abated, or reſted, as in the *interpolate Fits* of *Agues*, but the *Rancor* broke out again more than ever.

Our King writes to the States in 1613.

For this year 1618. (as formerly expreſſed) the *Diſtemper* came to the *State*, or *height*, and had ever after a *decline*. Our King hearing of the *Diſorders* and *Tumults* among them, looked upon them (now) as ſo many ill *Omens*, portending not only the ruin of the *Netherlands*, but the Tempeſt growing greater might beat too ſoon upon the *Britiſh-ſhores*. To ſtay therefore the ſwelling progreſs of this *Gangrene humor*, he prohibits his Subjects by Proclamation to ſend their children to *Leyden*, and ſolicits the States by Letters again, not only to forbid the preaching of theſe *Controverſies* (the *Pulpits* being made but the *Bellows* of *Diſſention*) but commands his Ambaſſador Sir *Dudley Carleton* to ſhew them their *Diſeaſe*, and then preſcribes them the *Cure*. Their *Diſeaſe* was this, *Schiſm* in the *Church*, which uſher'd in a *Faction* in the *State*, jealouſie and diſaffection among the *Magiſtrates*, hatred, and heart-burning among the *Common people*, contempt of the *Orders* and *Decrees* of the chiefeſt Courts of *Juſtice*, diſtraction among the *Souldiers*, being tyed to ſeveral *forms* of *Oaths*, inſurrections & commotions among the *Companies* new levied, not well diſciplin'd (as likewiſe among the common people) which have extended to *blood*, to the affrightment, fear, and trouble of all the *Provinces*; at which the *Enemy* ſmiles (who happily have a hand in the *deſign*) and their friends lament to ſee it ſo. To cure which *Malady*, there is no other way than to call a *National Council*, where theſe *Waters* of *ſtrife* being kept in due bound, the aſperous edge of *Opinion* might be taken off, by grave and weighty *Reaſon*, to abate the *Paſſion* both in *Church* and *State*.

And now in 1618.

The *Remonſtrants* (which the *Arminians* called themſelves) carrying on their *Reſolutions* with a full *ſail*, would by no means alter their *courſe*, or conſent to the calling of a *Council*; either fearing their party in *Council* would prove the weakeſt, or knowing their *partakers* in *Action* would be the ſtrongeſt; for moſt of the States and Governours of *Provinces* had taſted of this *infected Cup*. And *Barnevelt* (the *Head* of them) being an active perſon, and having a nimble tongue, diſtilling into them a *Jealouſie* that *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* (who had the command of all their Garriſons, as General of their Army) affected to make

Barnevelt oppoſes the Pr. of *Orange*.

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make himſelf (by his *power*) ſole *Lord* and *Monarch* over them; that the *Freedom* which they had purchaſed with their *bloods*, was now ready to be trampled on; he that was their *Servant*, aſpiring to become their *Maſter*; having all *power* both by Sea and Land, in his own hand; all Governments, and Offices at his *diſpoſe*, ſo that he wanted nothing but the *Title* to make him abſolute. Theſe *ſparks* took fire with many, and yet they could not well ſee by that *light*, becauſe *Barnevelt* drew theſe pretences as a Curtain, to get as much *power* in the *Militia*, as he had in their *Councils*, the better to bring his *ends* about. Whereupon to ballance the Prince of *Orange*'s *power*, new Companies are levied in ſome of the *Provinces* ſecretly, ſpecially in *Utrecht*, meaning to make that the *Stage* to act their *bloody parts* on: Which Town being much corrupted with the *Leaven* of bad *Doctrine*, they ſoon cloſed with the corruption of as bad *manners*.

The Prince of *Orange* goes to *Utrecht*.

The Prince of *Orange*, and ſome others affected to him, did cut out their time to the length of the others endeavours, proportioning their *Prevention* ſuitable to the others *Action*, ſo the advance of the one party ran upon the ſame *Parallel* with the other, being ready to tread on their heels for *haſt*. And now the time being *ripe*, The Prince goes to *Utrecht*, accompanied with ſome of the States his intimates, Count *Erneſt* of *Naſſau*, and ſome other Commanders of the Army, to ſeiſe upon, or disband thoſe new raiſed Forces; in which he was oppoſed by *Leydenburgh* and other States of the Town, who incited the Governour, Sir *John Ogle*, our Countryman, to deny the Prince entrance; but he was too much a friend to the *Honor* of his *Name* and *Nation*, to falſifie his truſt. So that the Prince encountred only with thoſe, whoſe unwillingneſs had *power* enough if they had had hearts to oppoſe him. But he finding it would be an ill *Precedent* to the reſt of the Towns to meet a *Repulſe* here, had ordered five Hundred foot from *Arnham* and the next Garriſons, to meet him there, who entred the Town that evening peaceably, and the next morning about four a clock disbanded the new levied Companies, before the Townſ-men were well awake.

25 *July*.

The Prince had no great reaſon to truſt the Garriſon of the City, conſidering the *Reformed Religion* was totally kept under *hatches*, & the *Arminian* got upon the *deck*. The Governour himſelf ſuſpected, and complying to outward appearance, and the common Souldiers running with the *ſtream*. But he knew (it ſeems) their *temper* aſcended to no higher *notions* than thirty *Stivers* a week was able to purchaſe. Therefore he ſummon'd them all over night into the Market-place, without beat of *drum*, who, with the other five Hundred, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the new levied Companies, that at the firſt word of *command* they



IOHAN VAN OLDENBARNEVELD
Binnen s'Gravenhage Onthalst Den 13 May 1619.

they laid down their *Arms* and ſubmitted. They were in that City in all nine Hundred men, that knew they were raiſed to oppoſe the Princes power, pickt up of ſeveral Nations, that hoped to carve their *fortunes* out of *bloody Tumults*, and backt by a numerous *multitude* of *Citizens*, yet they all ſhrunk in their *heads* before the *face* of *Authority*.

This giving ſome ſtop to the *carreir* of the *Remonſtrants* in *Utrecht*, the reſt of the Towns took up, though they had run long uncurbed. And now the Prince and State thought of nothing more than of compoſing the *Diſorders* of the *Church*, by a *National Council*, which *Barnevelt* and his *Faction* oppoſing, they reſolved to take away thoſe *impediments* that hindered the *Peace* and *Tranquillity* of the *Provinces*. So that on the 19th of *Auguſt*, the prime Ring-leaders of the *Sedition*, *Barnevelt*, *Hogenberts*, and *Grotius*, were ſeiſed on at the *Hague*, as they were entring the *Senate*, and committed to ſeveral Priſons. This caſt a general damp upon the *ſpirits* of the *Remonſtrants*, as if they had been cruſhed in the head. And ſome few days after *Leydenburgh* was ſent from *Utrecht* with a ſtrong Guard. Theſe being the four chief Pillars whereupon this confuſed Building ſtood, they being taken away, it fell to the ground. *Leydenburgh* to prevent their *mercy* ſtabbed himſelf in Priſon with a knife, that opened a paſſage to ſet out his life. *Hogenberts*, and *Grotius*, found ſomething of mercy by waiting for it, but they were condemned to perpetual Impriſonment in the Caſtle of *Loveſtien*. And the latter of them *(Grotius)* after ſome time of Impriſonment made an eſcape in a Trunk, which his Wife pretended to the Soldiers of the Caſtle, to be full of *Arminian Books*, which ſhe would ſend away, becauſe they ſhould not trouble her Husband's head. But the *Capital Offender*, *Barnevelt*, was Beheaded at the *Hague* the fourteenth of *May* following, being 1619.

Barnevelt's Sentence and death.

His Sentence of death was this, That for ſo much he had endeavoured to diſturb the Peace of the Land, and had oppoſed himſelf againſt the wholſom advice of divers Princes, Lords, and excellent Perſons, aſwel without as within the Land, and that he had injured ſome of their *mightieſt Allies* by his ſecret practices (namely, by calumniating the King of Great *Britain*, as though he had been the Author of theſe troubles in the *Low-Countries*.) For that he had kindled the fire of Diſſention in the Provinces; had raiſed Souldiers in the Dioceſs of *Utrecht*; had diſreputed his *Excellency* as much as lay in his power; had revealed the ſecrets of the Council; and had received Preſents and Gifts from Foreign Princes: Finally, for that by his Machinations and Plots, new States have been erected in the State, new Governments againſt the Government, and new Unions and Alliances againſt the ancient Union, to the general *perturbation*

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bation as well of *Policy*, as of *Religion*, to the exhausting of the *Treasures* of the Land, to the jealousie and dislike, not only of the *Confederates*, but of the *Natives* of the *Country*, who by this means were brought into danger, that they were like to fall into final *ruine*.

His Imployments.

He was born in *Amersford*, descended from the Antient Family of *Olden Bernevelt*; in his Fortune a private Gentleman, but by his Industry, Travels, and Studies at home and abroad, he made himself capable of managing the highest affairs, which he did almost for forty years together. He was five times *Extraordinary Ambassador* into *England* and *France*; had been in the Field with the Princes of *Orange*, and the *Army*, as one of the States, thirty two several *Leaguers*; nothing was acted without his Advice: Indeed he was the *Tongue* and *Genius* of the *State*. But whether *Ambition* (now in his old Age) mounted him to grapple with the *Prince* for *power*, or whether that wild and frantick *fancy*, that men often brand their *spirits* with, and call it *Conscience* (but is nothing but pertinacy in opinion) impt the wings of his Affections, we cannot discover, being only the secret Companions of his own Breast, and let them dye with him. But thus he ended, in the seventy first year of his Age.

A Synod at *Dort*.

He lived to see (that which he had so much opposed) a *National Synod* held at *Dort*, whither our King sent Doctor *George Carlton*, Bishop of *Landaff*; Doctor *Joseph Hall*, Dean of *Worcester*; Doctor *John Davenant*, *Professor Regius* in *Cambridge*, and Master of *Queens* College; and Doctor *Samuel Ward*, Regent of *Sidney* College in *Cambridge*, *Divines* of great *Reputation*, sound *Learning*, and well-grounded *Faith*. Where they met with divers *Divines* from *Switzerland* and *Germany*, besides the *Natives* of the *Netherlands*; who altogether in a full Synod, quashed, as much as in them lay, the *Arminian Opinions*; and though they could not utterly extirpate the roots of the *Heresie*, yet they laid them so low, that they never broke out there since into exuberant branches; though some of the *Fibræ*, the small veins left behind, much tainted our *Nation*, as shall be expressed hereafter.

A blazing Star.

And now the *Heavens* declare the Glory of God; A mighty blazing *Comet* appears in *Libra*, whose bearded *Beams* covered the Virgin Sign; it began on *Wednesday* morning, the 18th of *November* this year, and vanished away on *Wednesday* the 16th of *December* following, making, in 28 days motion, its *Circumgiration* over most *Parts* of the known *World*, extending its *radiant locks* (by the observation of *Astronomers*) sometimes 45 *Degrees* in length. And as our Doctor *Bambridge* observed towards the *Declination* of it, about the 11th of *December*, it past over *London* in the morning, and so hasted more Northwards, even as far as the *Orcades*.

Nunquam



GEORGIUS CARLETONVS αὐτοχειρικῶς.

Age, tu solus regni cor.

* Per duode-
cim regni mun-
di cæleurum
astra Virgil

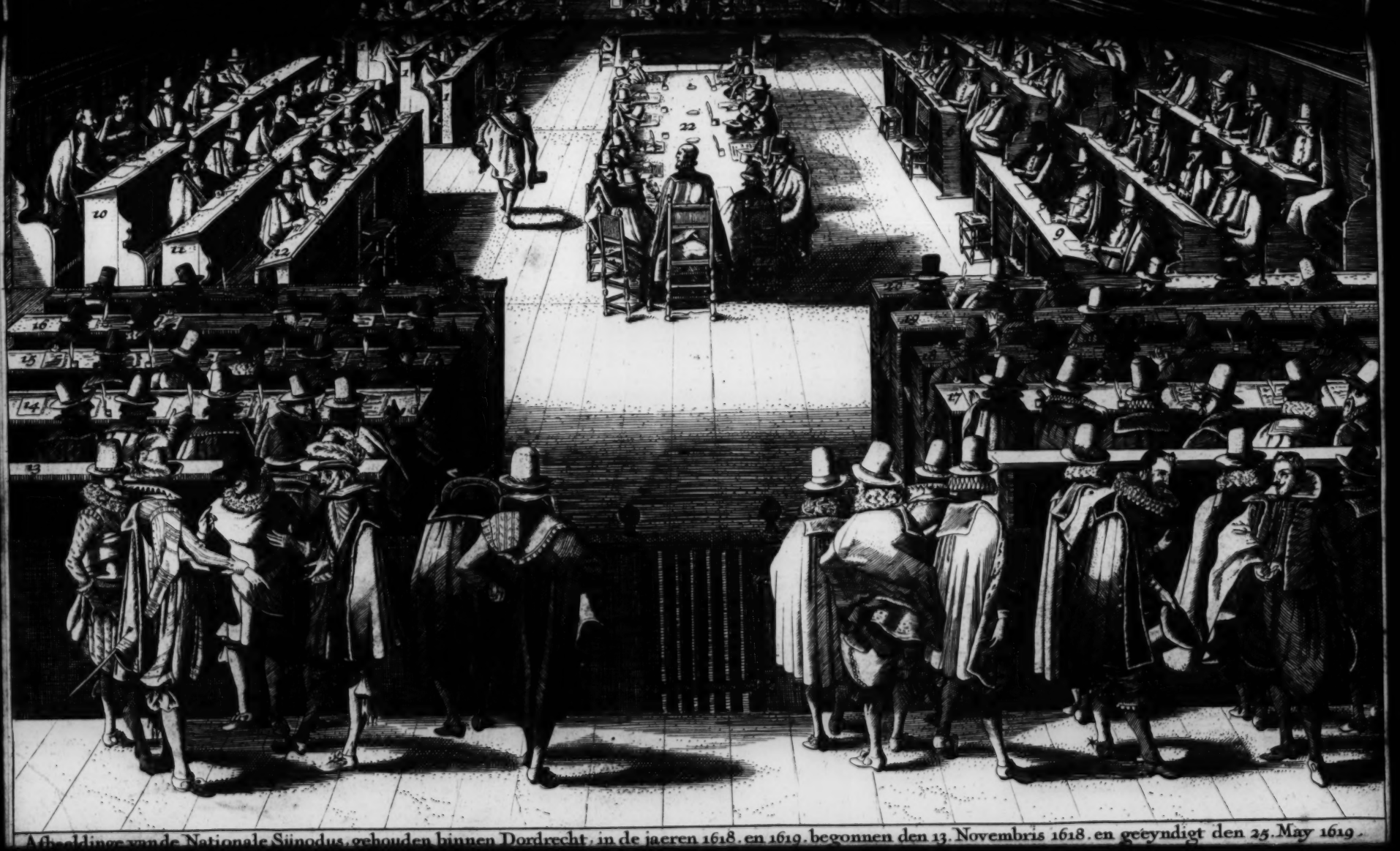
Orbis cor* Sol est, regni cor tu (Pater) ut Sol
Orbe micat, regno sic tua scripta micant.

ALIVD

Si Cor principium vitæ est tota Anglia recte
Per tua jam dicit Vivere scripta potest

Vic. Res S.T.B





Afbeeldinge vande Nationale Synodus, gehouden binnen Dordrecht, in de jaeren 1618. en 1619. begonnen den 13. Novembris 1618. en geeyndigt den 25. May 1619.

Nunquam futilibus exanduit ignibus Æther,

they make not their Courſe in Vain! Theſe Apparitions do always portend ſome horrid Events here below, and are Meſſengers of *miſchief* to poor *Mortals*: The *Divine Wiſdom* pointing to us what we ſhould do, to prevent theſe threatned *dangers*, that we may have our *lives* for a *prey*. It appears firſt in *Libra*, the *Emblem* of *Juſtice*, and ſtreams over the Virgin *Aſtrea*, which (as the Poet ſaith) was laſt of all the Virtues left the Earth,

Ultima Cæleſtum terras Aſtrea reliquit.

We muſt by this Admonition from Heaven, learn to do *juſtly*; and it is for *injuſtice* that theſe ſad *Omens* threaten us. What miſerable Effects of War, Ruine, and Devaſtation, in moſt parts of the known *World*, followed at the heels of this *ſtupendious Harbinger*, is obvious to all; and ſo far as relates to us, may be declared (God willing) in the Progreſs of this *Hiſtory*: but I hope the *operation* and *power* of it is almoſt at an end; for it began in *Germany*, took *France* and *Spain* in the way, and paſt over *England* to the *Orcades*, and ſo vaniſhed, as *Bainbridge* relates in the Deſcription of it, *Fol.* 7.

Fulgura non ſemper, nec ſemper prælia durant.
——let's count it almoſt paſt,
For War, like lightning, doth not always laſt.

The death of Queen *Anne*.

The firſt remarkable Accident that happened in *England* after this Prodigious Forerunner, was the death of Queen *Anne*, who died of a *Dropſie* at *Hampton-Court*, and thence brought to her *Palace* in the *Strand*, for the more triumphant *glory* of her *Obſequies*. The Common People, who naturally admire their *Princes*, placing them in a *Region* above ordinary *Mortals*, thought this great Light in *Heaven* was ſent as a *Flambeau* to her *Funeral*; their dark minds not diſcovering, while this Blaze was burning, the fire of War that broke out in *Bohemia*, wherein many thouſands periſhed.

A ſhort Character of the Queen.

She was in her great Condition a good Woman, not tempted from that height ſhe ſtood on, to embroyl her ſpirit much with things below her (as ſome buſy-bodies do) only giving her ſelf content in her own Houſe, with ſuch *Recreations* as might not make *Time* tedious to her: And though great Perſons Actions are often pried into, and made *Envies* mark, yet nothing could be fixt upon her, that left any great impreſſion, but that ſhe may have engraven upon her Monument a *Character* of *Virtue*.

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Northumberland ſet at Liberty.

About this time *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been a Priſoner in the *Tower* ever ſince the *Powder plot* (a long Recluſe) was ſet at liberty. The Cauſe of his Confinement was upon a Sentence in *Star-Chamber*, for nouriſhing in his Houſe *Thomas Piercy* his Kinſman, who was one of the *Complotters* of the *Treaſon*. And though nothing could be proved againſt the Earl, to endanger his life, yet upon the preſumption of his knowledge of it, he was fined in thirty thouſand pounds, and impriſoned in the *Tower*. He was married to *Dorothy*, eldeſt Daughter to *Walter* Earl of *Eſſex*, by whom he had a Noble (yet ſurviving) Iſſue, two Sons, and two Daughters; *Algernon* now Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Henry*, both in theſe Times young. *Dorothy*, the eldeſt Daughter, married *Robert* Viſcount *Liſle*, after the death of his Father Earl of *Leiceſter*, by whom he had a numerous Iſſue, like *Olive branches* about his *Table*. The younger Daughter, *Lucy*, a Lady of incomparable *Beauty*, (ſolemnized in the *Poems* of the moſt exquiſite *Wits* of her time) married the Lord *Hayes* (now made Viſcount *Doncaſter*) againſt her Father's will (who aimed at higher extractions) during his Impriſonment; which the old Earl's ſtubborn *ſpirit* not brooking, would never give her any thing; And *Doncaſter*, whoſe *affection* was above *money* (ſetting only a *valuation* upon his much-admired *Bride*) ſtrove to make himſelf *meritorious*, and prevailed ſo with the King for his Father-in-law, that he got his *Releaſe*. But the old Earl would hardly be drawn to take a *Releaſe* from his hand, ſo that when he had liberty he reſtrained himſelf; and with much importunity was wrought upon, by (ſuch as knew the diſtempers of his *body*, might beſt qualifie thoſe of his *mind*) perſuading him, for ſome indiſpoſition, to make a journey to the *Bath*, which was one ſpecial *motive* to accept of his Son-in-law's *reſpects*.

The variouſneſs of times.

The ſtout old Earl, when he was got looſe, hearing that the great Favourite, *Buckingham*, was drawn about with a Coach and ſix Horſes (which was wondred at then as a *novelty*, and imputed to him as a *maſtring pride*) thought if *Buckingham* had ſix, he might very well have eight in his Coach, with which he rode through the City of *London* to the *Bath*, to the vulgar talk and admiration; and recovering his health there, he lived long after at *Petworth* in *Suſſex*, hating this over-topping *humour*, which ſhewed it rather an affected fit, than a diſtemper. Nor did this addition of two Horſes by *Buckingham* grow higher than a little *murmur*. For in the late Queens time, there were no Coaches, and the firſt had but two Horſes; the reſt crept in by *Degrees*, as men at firſt venture to *Sea*. And every new thing the People diſ-affect, they ſtumble at, ſometimes at the *action* for the *perſon*, which riſes like a little *cloud*, but ſoon vaniſhes. So after, when *Buckingham* came to be carried in a Chair


NORTHVMBERLAN
ONORATVS
PERCEY CO
D: HENRICVS
If Art could shewe the Spirit in the Face
And in dead lines expresse a Liuing Grace:
You might (though waking) an Inspiration) sweare
That this the Shadowe of Ld PERCY were.
For when the Noblest Romane Worthies Stuck
Though greater Fame their Fortunes haue atcheiu'd
Nobler Spirittes did in ROME commande
Then were the (PERCYS) of NORTHVMBERLAND

Chair upon Mens ſhoulders, the *clamour* and *noiſe* of it was ſo extravagant, that the People would rail on him in the Streets, loathing that Men ſhould be brought to as ſervile a condition as Horſes. So irkſom is every little new impreſſion, that breaks an old *Cuſtom*, and rubs and grates againſt the *publick humour!* But when Time had made thoſe Chairs common, every looſe *Pimp*, or *Minion*, uſed them; ſo that, that which gave at firſt ſo much *ſcandal*, was the means to convey thoſe privately to ſuch places, where they might give much more. Juſt like *long hair*, at one time decried as abominable, at another time approved of as *beautiful*. So various are the *fancies* of the *times!* And that ſtrong *Reaſon* is only able to manage this *Beaſt*, that can beſt *curb* its own *Appetite*.

Stirs in *Germany.*

But now War breaks in upon us, following that blazing Forerunner; the Houſe of *Auſtria* (like *Pyrrhus* and *Lyſander*, extending their *Dominions* no further than the *Sword* could reach) having long feathered their *Neſts* with the *Eagles* plumes, grew formidable to the Princes and States of *Germany*. And becauſe they found the Popes had ſhrewdly plumed ſome of their Predeceſſors, till they had wreſted moſt parts of *Italy* from the *Empire*, they were content to maintain their *Grandure* by the Popes power, and to ingratiate themſelves the more, became great Perſecutors of the *Reformed Religion*.

Anno 1617.

A little before this time *Ferdinand* (Uncles Son to *Matthias* the *Emperor*) was Crowned King of *Bohemia*, with this *Reſervation*, that he ſhould not exerciſe the Power of a *King*, as long as the old *Emperor* lived. This kind of Crowning of *Kings* (one in the life of another) was the great Chain, that (link by link) held the *Empire*, and the two Kingdoms of *Hungaria* and *Bohemia* together in the *Auſtrian* Family; ſo that the State of either Kingdom could not, or durſt not, put forth their Strength to ſhake them aſunder. The *Emperor* kept his Court at *Vienna*, King *Ferdinand* at *Gretz* in *Stiria*; ſo that the Government of *Bohemia* reſted in ſuch Counſellors as the Emperor *Matthias* left there for the management of Publick Affairs. Theſe Counſellors, and Miniſters, with the Archbiſhop of *Prague*, broke out about this time, not only to demoliſh the *Proteſtant Churches*, but by the help of the *Jeſuits* (their bitter Enemies) ſtrove to undermine the *Religion* it ſelf.

The Proteſtant States, and Nobles of the *Country*, ſummoning an Aſſembly, to redreſs their Grievances, were oppoſed by ſome of the *Emperor*'s Miniſters of *State*, the very day of their meeting; which exaſperated them to ſuch a height of *Paſſion*, (being backt by ſome Forces they brought with them for their Security) that they threw *Slahata* the Emperor's chief Juſtice, *Smeſanſius*, one of the Council of State, and *Fabricius*, a pragmatical Secretary, from a high Window in the *Caſtle*, down

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into the Court, though ſome of them took little hurt, and lived (as reports go) to this time. This *raſh Action* the *Bohemians* ſtrive to palliate by *Apologies* to the Emperor, but withal ſtrengthned themſelves, making Leavies both of Horſe, and Foot, the better to ſecure their own *Peace*, and baniſhing thoſe *Firebrands* the *Jeſuits* out of *Prague*, whoſe malicious and diſtemper'd *Zeal* firſt kindled the *Flame*. The Emperor hearing of theſe *miſchiefs*, raiſes an Army under the command of Count *Bucquoy*, and the Proteſtant States finding the Emperor *exaſperated*, raiſe two Armies, one commanded by Count *Thurne*, the other by Count *Mansfeldt*: ſome bickrings paſt betwixt the *Imperial* Army and the *Bohemians*, ſome Towns taken on both ſides; and in the heat of this ſtir the old Emperor dies.

Ferdinand King of *Hungary*, and *Bohemia*, and adopted *heir* of old *Matthias*, meeting (after ſummons) at *Frankford*, with the three *Electors* of *Memz*, *Collen*, and *Trevers*, and only with the *Repreſentatives* of the other three *Electors*; The *Church* carried
28 *Aug.* it for him, and he was choſen *King* of the *Romans*. The States of *Bohemia* diſclaimed the *election*, as invalid, becauſe he could not be an *Elector* himſelf as King of *Bohemia*; for that he had never been actually in poſſeſſion of the *Crown*. And though their diſſent could not leſſen *Ferdinand*'s Election to the Empire, yet they proteſted by *oath* never to acknowledge him for their King. Theſe *eruptions* made a noiſe all over *Chriſtendom*, and moſt knowing men looked on this *heavenly Torch*, the late *Comet*, as fit fuel to give fire to ſuch a train.

Doncaſter Ambaſſador. Our King fearing the *clap* would fall heavy upon the *Proteſtant party*, ſent the Viſcount *Doncaſter*, extraordinary Ambaſſador, to mediate a *Reconciliation* betwixt the Emperor, and the *Bohemians*. But the *aſperity* and *bitterneſs* was too great to find an allay by his ſweet and candid *Complements*, being fitter for the *boſoms* of *Lovers*, than the armed *breaſts* of *Uprores* and *Tumults*.

Ferdinand inſinuated with the Princes of *Germany*, eſpecially the Duke of *Bavaria*, to corroborate his party; the *Bohemians*, made *election* of our King's Son-in-law, the Prince Elector *Palatine*, to be their King, hoping his great *Alliance* would ſtrengthen theirs. Some little pauſes were in the *acceptation* (though a *liquoriſh bait*) the Elector *Palatine* being fearful to ingage himſelf to ſnatch a *Crown* out of the *fire*: But the *Bohemian* States wrought the Prince of *Anhalt*, the Earl of *Holoch*, and the Baron *Done*, the *Palatines* intimates, in their forge (of great *promiſes* and *preferments*) to ſuch a temper, that by their aſſiſtance (ſlighting the *danger*) he reacht at the *Crown*, before either he, or his friends were well adviſed of it. His *Election* was upon
1619. the 26 of *Auguſt*, his entrance into *Prague* the laſt of *October*, and his *Coronation* the fourth of *November* following. But as ſoon

as



LOTHARIVS PAR LA GRACE DE DIEV
ARCHEVESQVE DE TREVES

B. Moncornet excudit

as he had accepted, and ſwallowed the *Royal bait*, he ſent the Baron *Done* to our King, to excuſe the ſuddenneſs of the *acceptation*, before his *Counſels* were well concocted, but the emergency of the *Cauſe* (as he pretends) would admit of no *deliberation*. As ſome haſty *Phyſicians*, or *cholerick Patients*, to prevent a *Feaver*, bring the body to a *Hectick*.

Our King that looked upon his own condition through the *Optique* of the peoples *mutable* and *unſtable affection*, would by no *means* countenance ſuch a *Precedent* as ſhould give them power to diſpoſe of an eſtabliſhed *Royal dignity*, at their pleaſure, and upon every change of *humor*; for ſo he might ſhake his own *foundation*, which made the Barons addreſſes crude and nauſeous to his *Appetite*, till time had a little digeſted them. And then he diſpatched two Ambaſſadors into *Bohemia*. One was Sir *Richard Weſton*, who was afterwards Lord high Treaſurer of *England*, and left to his poſterity the Earldom of *Portland*, a man of a *haughty ſpirit*, yet knew how by *ſuppling* it, to make his way to the height he arrived at: For his *Religion* gave place to his *Policy*, and mounted him till he became one of the great *grievances* of the Kingdom. The other was Sir *Edward Conwey*, a man of a *groſſer* temper; bred a *Soldier*, being Governor of *Bril* when *England* gave over her intereſt in the *cautionary Towns*, who was after made a Viſcount, and Secretary of State, a rough impoliſhed peice for ſuch an imployment. But the King that wanted not his *Abilities* would often make himſelf merry with his imperfect *ſcrouls* in writing, and hacking *expreſſions* in reading, ſo that he would break into *laughter*, and ſay in a *facetious* way, *Had ever man ſuch a Secretary, that can neither Write nor Read?* Theſe two were ſuited for the imployment, happily upon deſign; *Weſton* being a kind of *Papiſt*, and *Conwey* a *Proteſtant*, the better to cloſe up the breach between the Emperor, and the King of *Bohemia*,

Weſton and *Conwey* ſent Amb. into *Bohemia*.

But *Ferdinand* being ſtartled with the *flaring Glory* of this new King, to caſt a damp upon it, and to terrifie him, and his Adherents, he cauſed this *Proſcription* to be publiſhed againſt them. 1620.

"WE *Ferdinand*, *&c.* To all Electors, Princes, *&c.* but eſpecially to the Subjects of *Frederick* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, Elector, *&c.* ſend greeting. Becauſe it is "not known unto you, how that *Frederick* Count *Palatine* of "the *Rhine*, *&c.* hath made himſelf *head* of that *perfidious* and *re*"*bellious crew* of our Kingdom of *Bohemia*: Wherefore we pro"claim the ſaid *Frederick* Count *Palatine*, *&c.* Guilty of High "Treaſon, and iterate Proſcription, and of all the Penalties which "by Law and Cuſtom are depending thereon. We conclude "him out of Our, and the Imperial Peace, and are firmly re"ſolved

The *Palatine* proſcribed.

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"solved to execute the said Penalties against the said *Frederick*, "which calleth himself *Count Palatine* of the *Rhine*, as against "one publickly proscribed, an Enemy and Adversary to us, "and to the *Empire*, and as one which hath suffered himself to "be made a Head of our disobedient and perfidious Rebels; "who is a Contemner and Oppugner of our *Imperial Autho-* "*rity*, and *Majesty*; who is an Infringer of Publick Peace, "and Tranquillity, and of other *Ordinances* and *Laws* of the "*Empire*. Commanding you, under pain of Life, that in no "way you give any aid, succour, assistance, neither in Money, "Provision, Munition, nor any way else, neither openly, nor "covertly, under what colour or pretext soever, to the said "*Frederick*, who calleth himself *Count Palatine* of the *Rhine*. "And if one or more of you should serve, or be in pay of the "said *Frederick*, his Complices, or Helpers, We command him, "or them, to forsake the Service of the said proscribed *Fre-* "*derick*, and of his Helpers. And we command you the Estates, "Dependents, Alliances, Subjects and Vassals of the said pro- "scribed *Frederick*, that henceforth you yield unto him no "obedience, help, nor aid, in assisting him any further; nor "partake of his Rebellion, Disobedience, and Crime, but ut- "terly to forsake him in it, and to assist us with true and faith- "ful aid and succour, to reduce the disobedient, disloyal, rebel- "lious, proscribed *Frederick*, and his Helpers, to due Obe- "dience, any Treaty, Confederacy, Amity and Alliance not- "withstanding. And we absolve you that are Vassals of the "said proscribed *Frederick*, or which are in his Protection, or "which are his Natural Subjects, or Strangers, from all "your Oaths, and Duties; promising to all those which shall "be obedient unto this our *Mandate*, all *Imperial* favour, grace, "and security. We will likewise, that none shall protect, de- "fend or secure the said banished *Frederick*, and his Helpers, "and Assistants, in nothing that may be profitable to them. "For we exclude the said banished *Frederick*, together with "his Adherents, from all favour, liberties, promises, security, "publick peace, confederacies, alliances, laws, privileges, "immunities and customs heretofore given unto him, and "them, by our *Ancestors* the *Roman Emperors*. But he that "shall be disobedient unto this our Will and Command, and "shall assist, take part, or aid in any sort, either privately or "publickly, under what colour soever, the said *Frederick*, "who calleth himself *Count Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and Duke of "*Bavaria*, We declare by these Presents guilty of high Treason, "and iterate *Proscription*, no less than himself. And this let "every one take notice of, to keep themselves from danger. "*Given in our City of* Vienna, *&c.*

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CHRISTIANVS II·DVX SAXONIAE, ETC. SEPTEMVIRATVS
ANNO M·D·CI
CAES. CREAN. HAERES
VIRTVTE CHRISTI
ANA

Saxony executes the Imperial Ban.

The Duke of *Saxony* took the Field with an Army of twenty thouſand men, to execute this *Imperial Ban*, and reduced moſt part of *Luſatia*. But before this, the Earls of *Thurn*, and *Manſfeldt*, with a great Army ſtood the ſhock of the *Imperial power* in divers Aſſaults: but when the King was eſtabliſhed in *Bohemia*, and his Counſels managed by the Prince of *Anhalt*, and the Earl of *Holoch*, then *Thurn* and *Mansfeldt* were eclipſed by the brightneſs of their *power*; for *Anhalt* muſt be General, and *Holoch* Lieutenant-General. This taking *impreſſion* in the *region* of *gallant minds*, drew up ſome ill *vapours* of *diſcontent*, which tended to a *fiery exhalation*, that like ill *Omens* did preſage an *unhappy event*.

Preparations for War.

While they were thus grappling in *Bohemia*, the Marqueſs *Spinola* was forming an Army in *Flanders*, and the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, Confederates to the *Palatine* (calling themſelves the *Princes* of the *Union*) raiſed Forces for the defence of the *Palatinate*, and their own Intereſt, under the Command of the Marqueſs of *Anſbach*. But our King made no Preparations, yet he ſent to his Ambaſſador at *Bruxels*, commanding him to enquire for what purpoſe *Spinola*'s Army was called together, the *Truce* continuing betwixt *Spain* and the *Low-Countries*; but the Ambaſſador could receive little *ſatisfaction*, the *Spaniſh* ſubtilty having ſealed up *Spinola*'s Commiſſion, which he was not to open till the Army were ready to march. But men of ordinary underſtanding might apprehend, that an Army of ſix and twenty thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe, with all Military Proviſions, were not to lye ſtill; and though our King had divers Arguments preſented to him, that did aſſure him that Army was intended for the *Palatinate*, yet would not his Spirit be ſet on work to preſerve his *Childrens Patrimony*; *So odious was the name of War to him!* But at length, with much ado, one Regiment of Foot (to joyn with the *Princes* of the *Union*, and make a little noiſe and buſtle) was extorted from him by importunities. This Regiment was the gallanteſt for the Perſons, and outward preſence of men, that in many Ages (I think) hath appeared either at home or abroad: It conſiſted of two and twenty hundred compleat; the chief Commander Sir *Horatio Vere* (who was after Baron of *Tilbery*) a Perſon bred up in the School of *War*, and a known Maſter in the Art of *Victory*. He was accompanied with the Earls of *Oxford* and *Eſſex*, young and daring Spirits, whoſe *honour* not only deſcended from a long *Series* of Noble *Progenitors*, but they made it their own. And out of reſpect to them, as well as love to the Service, this Regiment was almoſt furniſhed with Gentlemen, who went to make themſelves capable of better imployment; the *Engliſh* for many years having been truants in that *Art*. The two Earls had two hundred and fifty men a-

piece

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piece in each Company; and ſo many flocked to *Eſſex* out of love (and he loth to put them off) that he carried 300 men into the *Palatinate*, paying fifty of them with his own Money. The King being drawn to conſent, that two Regiments more ſhould follow for theſe two Noblemen, which gave the more encouragement to this petty *Enterprize*.

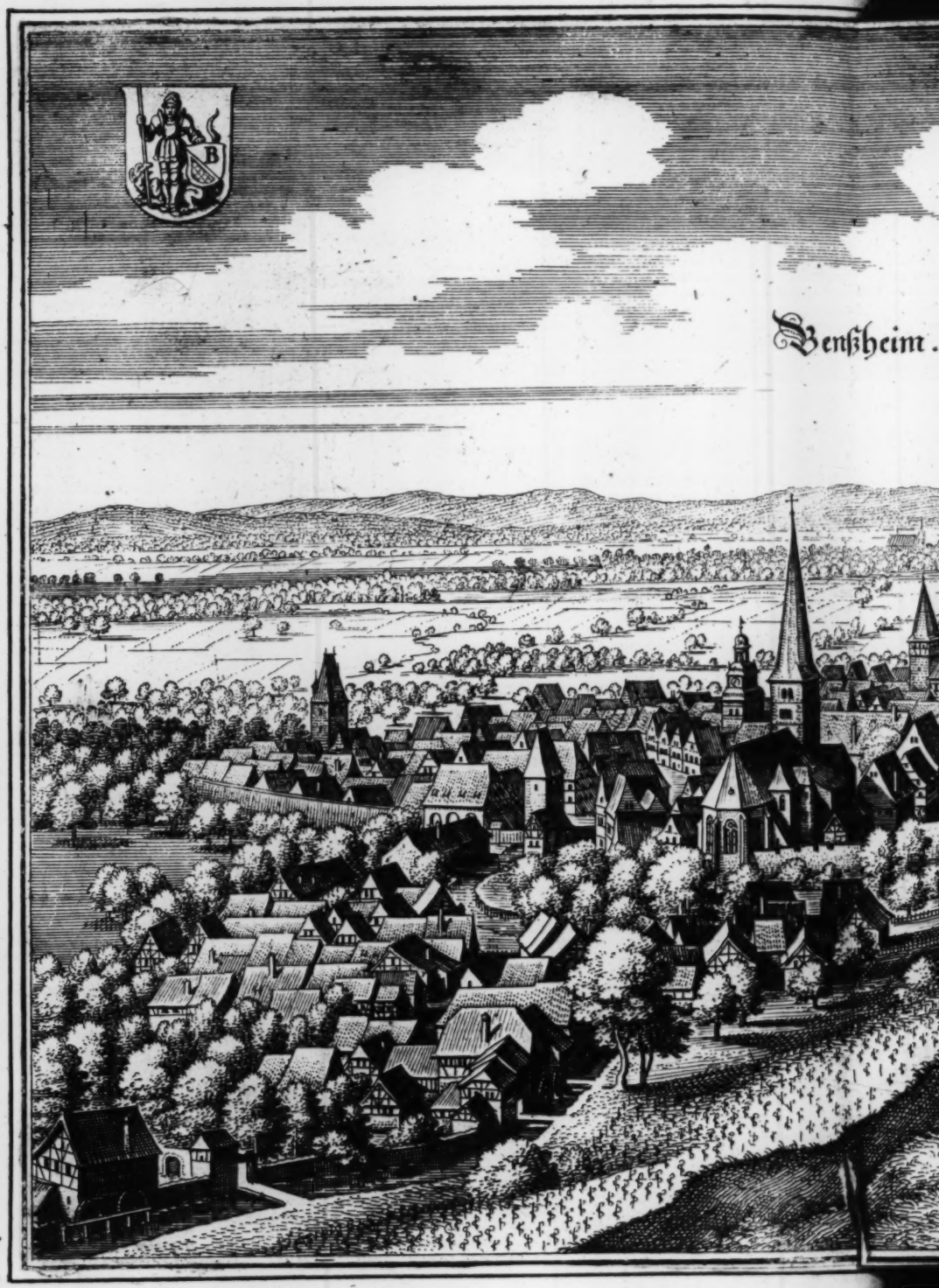
The march of the *Engliſh* into the *Palatinate*.

The *Engliſh* followed *Spinola*, but at a diſtance; for he being nearer to the *Palatinate*, got much the ſtart of them, though they went out of *England* before he preſented the *Arch-Dukes* with the *civilities* of his *Departure*, which was upon the eighth of *Auguſt*. And upon the laſt of the ſame month, by the Aſſiſtance of *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, and the benefit of a Bridge of boats a little below *Weaſel*, they paſt the *Rhine* under the Conduct of Prince *Henry* of *Naſſau*, who with two thouſand Horſe, and four hundred Muſqueteers, taken out of *Gulick* and the adjacent Garriſons, cleared the Countrey before them, marching through *Gulickland*, and the barren Mountains of *Collenland*, till they came near to *Coblentz*, which Town ſtands upon the Center of two Rivers, the *Rhine*, and *Moſell*. Giving out in the march, as if the Army intended to paſs the *Moſell*; but the Prince (to divert the Enemies intelligence) upon the ſixteenth of *September* drew two miles back from *Coblentz*, and paſt the *Rhine* in *Punts*, a kind of *Liter*, advancing forward on the other ſide of the River three *Engliſh* miles that night, to a Village called *Hembach*, where the Foot ſtayed till the Horſe paſt the River. And this ſudden change of *reſolution* was one of Prince *Henry*'s Maſter-pieces; for he knew from *Collen*, *Spinola* would have intelligence by *Curriers*, which way the bent of their march tended; and they had the *Moſell* in their eye all the way, but the *Rhine* in intention. In the *Halt* before *Coblentz*, one bullet among others from the Town, paſt between General *Vere*, and the Earl of *Eſſex* ſtanding together, and hit a Gentleman, called *Flood*, on the elbow: The cauſe of ſhooting from thence (as was conceived) proceeded from a Skirmiſh the night before, that happened betwixt ſome *Engliſh*, and the Country People of an adjoyning Village on the *Moſell*; for Captain *Fairfax* being ſent with a Squadron to them, in a peaceable manner, to deſire the accommodation of bread and wine for Money, the *Bores* ſhot at him, and hurt ſome of his men, but he ſtoutly advancing to them, they took their Boats, and haſted down to *Coblentz*. Some of the *Bores* were reported to be ſlain, for which *Fairfax*, upon the Prince's complaint, was committed, to give the Country ſatisfaction, but the next day releaſed.

Before the Army paſt the *Rhine*, General *Vere* ſent Captain *Row*, and Captain *Dexter* (with ninety four ſick men, ſome Tents, Trunks, and other Luggage, that were cumberſome) by water



MAURITS.
PRINS VAN ORANJE.


Benßheim

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water to *Bacrach*, which Town within few days after was ſummon'd by *Spinola*, and yielded to him, after the example of *Openheim*, and the other Towns he had taken in the *Palatinate*; ſo *ſpiritleſs* were the people in every place, that he met no reſiſtance in any thing that he attempted. The *Engliſh* taken in *Bacrach* were uſed with civility, and with the payment of ſmall Ranſoms, had liberty to return home. After the Army, both Horſe and Foot, had paſſed the *Rhine*, they had hard marches through the pleaſant Country of *Naſſau* (whoſe *Amœnity* and fruitfulneſs may rival the *beauties* of *France*) ſhaping their courſe towards *Frankford*.

Spinola finding himſelf deluded on one ſide of the *Rhine*, paſt the River *Main* with all his Horſe, and four thouſand Foot, intending to ſnap them on the other; but the ſtream being too high, his Waggons with Munition took wet, and ſome Field-peices miſcarried, which could not be recovered with the loſs of ſome of his men; which diſaſters happening, they admoniſhed him to a retreat, otherwiſe in all probability he had cut off thoſe Forces before they could have joyned with the Princes of the *Union*. The 24 of *September* Prince *Henry* with his Horſe, and General *Vere* with the Foot, paſt the River *Main*, at a Ford not far from *Frankford*, the Foot for the moſt part marching up to the middle through the ſtream, and that night they ſtood in Arms, having two Alarums of *Spinola*'s approach, not hearing yet he was retired. The next day they had a long march to recover *Darmſtat*, one half of which Town belongs to the King of *Bohemia*, the other part to the *Landſgrave* of *Heſſen*. There Prince *Henry* and the *Dutch* Companies left the *Engliſh*, and returned into the *Netherlands* again, and fifteen hundred *German* Horſe, commanded by Colonel *Megan*, met them, by order from the Princes of the *Union*. The 27 of *September* they came to *Beinſheim*, being the firſt intire Town in the *Palatinate* they arrived at; and upon the firſt of *October* paſt over the *Rhine* by *Worms*, upon a Bridge of Boats, and that day were met by the Marqueſs of *Ansbach*, and ſome others of the Princes of the *Union*, who ſtayed to ſee them march by, wondering at the gallantry of ſuch Foot, who were with them the meaneſt of the people.

Spinola attempts to intercept the *Engliſh*.

After two days reſt, the Princes with part of their Army, being 4000 Horſe, and 6000 Foot, joyned with the *Engliſh*, and together marched towards *Altzi* (a Town in the *Palatinate* that the Enemy had taken in) which they intended to ſurprize. But hearing by their Scouts that the Enemy had quitted the Town as not tenable, and that *Spinola* with his whole Army was marching towards them, they faced about to make his way the ſhorter, and within three hours their Scouts and the Enemies were in Skirmiſh, but the *German* Princes, not having their whole

The *Engliſh* joyn with the Princes.

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whole Army, were not forward to engage. *Spinola* ſeeing them march towards him (being as weary as they) took the advantage of a Hill, and forced their Horſe with his Cannon to retreat; but the Princes drew their Cannon up another Hill on the right hand of the Enemy, there being a large bottom, and a hill of Vineyards betwixt the two Armies, which were not viſible but from thence, for the one Hill drowned the other to them in the bottom. As ſoon as they ſaw how the Enemy ſtrove to ſecure himſelf, and that he was loth to come on, they judged their ſtrength not to be great, and therefore took a reſolution to ſet upon them. The *Dutch* in curteſie yielded the *Vanguard* to the *Engliſh*, which before they ſtood upon, as a *Punctilio* of *honor*. The *Engliſh* General drew out of every Diviſion fourſcore Muſqueteers to give the *On-ſet*, who were incouraged by that Reverend Divine Doctor *Burges* (of whom mention is formerly made) who accompanied the General from *England*, and was an inſtrument of much good to that Regiment; though they needed no incouragement at that time, being *ſpirits* willingly prepared for ſuch enterpriſes.

And prepare for a Charge.

Standing thus ready, expecting the command of the Marqueſs of *Ansbach* to begin the charge, and the evening haſtning with a ſable foil to excuſe his ſlowneſs: General *Vere* tired with his delays, rod up to the Hill, accompanied with the Earls of *Oxford* and *Eſſex*; and there they ſaw the Enemy began to march away, their Wagons marching in two ranks, and the Foot on the further ſide of them, the Wagons ſerving as a Bulwark for them; their Horſe brought up the Rear, and the march was without *Drum* or *Trumpet*, till the laſt *Diviſion* moved, and then they made the *Air* ſhake with the noiſe of their *ſhouts*, which was apprehended to be for joy of their eſcape: For the Princes afterwards had intimation, that they were not above ſix thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, and that they had marched all night, hoping to have found them in ſome ſecurity at *Altzi*, that they might have beaten up their Quarters before they had been ſetled. But the *Spaniard*, like a cunning Miner, finding them in a poſture to entertain him, was loth to engage, fearing their ſtrength, and ſeeking advantages. And if their *German* heads had countermined with him, and interpoſed betwixt him and *Openheim* (his head Quarter, whither he was marching) being nearer to it than he, they might have either forced him to fight, or forced the Town from him. The Earl of *Eſſex* being informed of this by ſome that knew the Country, preſſed the Marqueſs of *Ansbach* to it, deſiring him not to let ſlip an opportunity ſo happily put into his hand. He, not well pleaſed to be urged to a thing ſo contrary to his humor, replied angerly, *There is a Fort betwixt us and the Town, and we muſt paſs thither under the mercy of their Cannon.* Sir *Horatio*


AMBROSIVS · SPINOLA · DVX · S · SEVERINO · PRINC · SARTVAL · MARCH · BENAFRO &c

Horatio Vere hearing the Marqueſſe's reaſon, ſaid, *When ſhall we then fight, if we ſhun the Cannon?* But no perſuaſion can be prevalent, where Power and Diſaffection joyn their Force. The *Dutch* Horſe skirmiſhed with the Rear of the *Spaniſh*, and took five or ſix Horſe, and ſome ſtragling Foot, that was all the hurt done them.

The next day they marched to Quarters again, where the Soldiers found the Country Roots, Fruits, and Wine in the Muſt, no good preſervatives: But after they had ſtayed by it ſeven or eight days, *Spinola* led them a dance for digeſtion, pretending for *Keiſars Luther*, a Town in the borders of the *Palatinate*, which made the Princes advance their whole body to attend him, but as they drew near he retreated, ſo that they ſported with one another, as children at Seek and Find, though neither of their Armies could be much pleaſed with the ſharp froſty nights, thoſe deſolate and naked Hills expoſed them to; upon the top of one of them, the *Engliſh* Commanders one night burnt a great many of their Wagons to warm them, the Froſt was ſo violent, and the Soldiers lay in heaps upon the ground cloſe together like ſheep cover'd as it were with a ſheet of ſnow. Yet they ſpent the time thus till their *Stoves* ſummon'd them to warmer lodging. And the *Engliſh* Regiment was diſpoſed into three principal Garriſons: General *Vere* commanded in *Manheim*, Sir *Gerard Herbert* in *Heidelburgh*, and Serjeant-Major *Burrows* in *Frankindale*, impriſoning themſelves in Walls, while the Enemy romed round about them, and they had only power to preſerve themſelves; For the Princes of the *Unions* Forces were garriſon'd in their ſeveral Countries. I have the more particularly deſcribed this *Expedition*, becauſe I was an eye-witneſs of what paſſed; and if we had not had an allay of *Dutch dulneſs*, the *Spaniard* could not have carved to himſelf ſo great a *ſhare* in that Country, and their *oppoſers* had not mouldred away their Forces as they did afterwards, which makes this *Relation* harſh and unpleaſing.

Spinola and the Princes hunt one another.

But there was a *Divine Fate* attended not only this Country, but all *Germany*; For the *Almighty Wiſdom* that is the *Author* of all *Revolutions* in the World, hath his ſet times for changes, which often tends to the imbettering of it. For all the *Northern* Conqueſts of the *Goths*, *Huns*, *Vandals*, *Scyths*, and other barbarous Nations, were to corroborate the *Southern* bodies, waſted with *Eaſe* and *Luxury*. And now in *Germany* a flood of *Books*, that almoſt tended to an inundation, overſpread the World, and was her great diſeaſe: Beſides the *drunken Dropſie*, witneſs their monſtrous ſwelling tuns, and veſſel. In *lieu* of *books*, *War* brings in *barbariſm*, which is the firſt-born before *Plague*, or *Famine*. Theſe do not always *kill*, but *rectifie*. Full bodies are apt to fall ſick, and then they muſt be drawn very low often-

A ſad Fate upon *Germany*.

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times, before they come to perfect health. These *Judgments* have fain heavy upon *England*, we drink the *dregs* of the *Cup*; one sin is not to be pointed at, but all; and though it hath been bitter to the taste, yet He that knows the nature of the *Ingredients* may make it wholsom unto those that love him.

A sad story of Mr. *Duncomb*.

One thing both pitiful and remarkable, that hapned in the *Palatinate*, was almost omitted. There was a Gentleman whose name was *Duncomb*, that was a Soldier in the Earl of *Oxford*'s company. This young man left a *Gentlewoman* behind him in *England*, to whom he had vowed his heart, and promise of marriage; but her *fortune* being not fit for his Father's *humor*, he threatned to dis-inherit him, if he married her: and the better to alienate him from her, he sent him so long a journey, hoping time and absence might wear out those impressions, that the present *fancy* had fixed upon him, charging him at his departure, never to think of her more, lest with the thoughts of her he lost him for ever. The young man being now long absent from her, and having his heart full with the remembrance of her, could not contain himself, but let her know, that no threats or anger of *Parents*, should ever blot her *memory* out of his thoughts, which was illustrated with many expressions of *love* and *affection*. But the careless man writing at the same time to his Father, superscribed his Father's Letter to his Mistris, wherein he renounces her; and his Mistresses Letter to his Father, wherein he admires her. The Father swoln with rage and anger against the Son, sent him a bitter Letter back again full of *menaces*; and whether that, or shame for the mistake, that she should see he renounced her whom he profest to love, did overcome his *Reason*, is not known; but he killed himself, to the great grief of all the *English* there. And by this example *Parents* that are too rigid to their children, may see what *Murderers* they are: *For it was not the young man's hand, but the old man's hard heart that killed him.*

Good success in *Bohemia*.

The Prince of *Anhalt* General to the King of *Bohemia*, in the beginning of the *War* (like a *red morning*, that is the forerunner of a *foul evening*) met *Victory* smiling in his face: For hearing that *Bucquoy* the Imperial General with his Army was drawing near *Prague*, he interposed to stop his *Progress*, having not above twelve thousand men, a far less number than the *Imperialists*. *Bucquoy* had a *wooden Stratagem*, and it thriv'd accordingly; He mounted Trees upon Carriages, like *Ordnance*, to fright his Enemy; but they as wise as *birds* would not leave their *prey* for a whisp of *straw* drest like a *man*, but charged upon the mouths of such Cannon. *Anhalt* used a more real *Stratagem*, that took effect; He brought his *Ordnance* up behind his men, invisibly, loaden with *Musquet-bullet*; and when they should have charged the Enemy, made them wheel off, that those bloody



CAROLVS ALBERTVS DE LONGVEVAL COMES DE BVQVOY
ET DE GRATZEN, BARO DE VAVX ET DE ROSEN
BERGHE COMIT: HANNONIÆ GVBERNATOR &c.

B. Moncornet excu.

bloody Engins might break their ranks, which they performed to purpoſe, and forced them to retire into a Wood, where perſuing their advantage, they ſcatter their main Body.

Bad ſucceſs in *Bohemia.*

This was a fair *Spring*-time (the Battail being fought upon the tenth of *March*) and might have inhanced the hopes of a good *Autumn:* But in *November* following (when the Princes of the *Union*, and *Spinola*, were hunting one another among the froſty Hills in the *Palatinate*) the Duke of *Bavaria* coming with a great Army towards *Prague*, and joyning *Bucquoy* and *Tillie*, with all their Forces together, like cruel Hunters, meant either to catch a Prey, or be a Prey. *Anhalt* then had not ſo cloſed with Count *Mansfeldt*, as to bring him up to him (being pufft up with his laſt Victory) and ſome of his Soldiers being diſcontented for want of Pay, it abated the edge of their Courage; yet he got with his Army betwixt the *Imperialiſts*, and *Prague*, and ſtood upon the advantage of Ground; but all would not do; a Hand went out that gave a Period to that *Royalty:* for the Enemy breaking through them, forced his way, and put the *Bohemians* into ſuch *confuſion*, that happy was he that could eſcape with his life. The Prince of *Anhalt*, and his Lieutenant General *Holloc*, were the firſt that fled, and brought the news of the defeat to the King at *Prague*, who (with his Queen aſtoniſhed with the danger) being in a City not very defenſible, among a wavering People, and a Conquering Enemy in the Field, took time by the fore-top, and in this *hurly burly*, the next morning, being the 9 of *Nov.* left *Prague*, taking with them their moſt portable things, having load enough within them: But the Queen, the more Gallant and Royal Spirit, carried it with moſt undauntedneſs; the King ſuffered doubly as he went, being blamed for keeping his Soldiers without pay, having ſuch a maſſe of money by him, which he was forced to leave behind to his Enemies, and the imputation ſtuck upon him; but flying upon the Wings of common Fame, I ſhall not *lure* it into this *Relation* as a known Truth.

The King cenſured.

But by a ſad Accident that ſome years after happened to this unfortunate King, it was obvious that he left not all behind him; for going to viſit the Bankers of *Amſterdam*, where his Treaſure lay brooding, and paſſing in the night over *Harlem mere*, the winds and darkneſs in a conſpiracy, made a croſs *Hoigh* to run againſt the King's, and bulged it in the *Sea:* but before it ſunk, the King and others got to the *Maſtring Veſſel*, and ſaved themſelves; But the Prince his Son (being of a pregnant, hopeful *puberty*) with too ſevere a *fate*, was left to the broken Boat, which they durſt not approach again, though they heard his *cries*, ſo that he was abandoned to be tormented to death, which was more grievous than death it ſelf; for the Waters being ſhallow, and the *Hoigh* ſinking not far, the next day they found

The loſs of his Son.

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found him frozen to the *Maſt*, embracing it as his laſt *Refuge*, his Body half above, half under the water. This Story, melting with Pity, is here inſerted, becauſe the glory of this King expires.

The King's Character.

And ſince there will be occaſion to mention him no more, becauſe his *Actions* afterwards never mounted up one Story high; Take this brief Character of him. He was a *comely Perſonage* for *body*, of a good *ſtature*, his *complexion* of a *duskiſh melancholy*; the *conſtitution* of his *mind* rather fitted for thoſe little *beſoignes* of *Accounts*, and *Reckonings*, than any vigorous, or maſculine heat, to ſolder up the crackt Title of a Crown: He was a handſom, well-built, but ſlight Edifice, ſet on an ill Foundation, that could not ſtand long. The King of great *Britain* (that the *Bohemians* built upon) was not of ſo firm a temper, as to ſupport a Fortreſs (weakly made) that muſt endure the Rigorous Shock of War; which made it at the firſt or ſecond Aſſault thus totter and fall.

Weſton and *Conwey* return home.

The two Engliſh Ambaſſadors, *Weſton* and *Conwey*, which our King ſent to mediate for the *Bohemians*, could make little uſe of their *Oratory*, being ſcattered with the reſt in the *Cloud* of this *Confuſion*: But they brought the King and Queen to *Limburgh*, the firſt days journey, and after they were gone towards the *Netherlands*, the Ambaſſadors procured a ſafe Conduct from the Duke of *Bavaria* to return to *Prague*; But there they could find no *words* ſo prevalent and penetrable, as the *ſteel* of a Conquering Enemy; and ſo they returned home, *re infecta*, no wiſer than they went out.

The Princes of the Union ſubmit to *Ferdinand*.

This Defeat coming to the Ears of the *Princes* of the *Union*, quailed their *courage*, made them look back into their own *condition*; and having not ſo much *faith* as to depend upon our King for *aſſiſtance*, before the *Spring* they ſubmitted themſelves to the *Emperor*, leaving the almoſt-ruined *Palatinate* as a Prey to an inſulting Enemy; the *Engliſh* only giving Spirits to the Vital parts of it, conveyed by the Conduct of thoſe Inſtruments, *Vere*, *Herbert*, and *Burrowes*; Men fitter to command Armies, than to be confined within the Walls of Towns.

So doth *Anhalt*.

As ſoon as *Anhalt* had done the King his Maſter this diſſervice, he retires, applies himſelf by *mediation* to the *Emperor*, is received with *favour*, and admitted to be one of his *Generals*. No wonder that the War thriv'd no better, when it was only made for *worldly intereſts*! It was not the badneſs of the *Cauſe* altogether, but the *Men*, that ſtruck the *deadly blow*. The *Proteſtant rage* at *Prague* was not juſtifiable in the *Star-Chamber* of *Heaven*, though the *Popiſh inſolence* might too much exaſperate. The *Counſels* muſt be well weighed in all the *Courts* of *Juſtice*, when *War* is put into the *Scale*; for he that holds it, *ſits above*, can turn it which way he pleaſes, and picks out men to manage it,

Grundtriß vnd Entwurff etlicher ohrt der Chur Pfaltz vnd wie die Span



1. 2. die Spanische Armee
A. Schwedische Armee auff der höhe Schargiert die Spanier so im thall N° 3 gehalten

B. Zweyte Treffen der Schwedischen mit den Spanischen N° 4
C. dritte Treffen N° 5
D. Vierte Recontre bey Lauterick N° 6

E. Moras P. Spani hagni wag
G. Leste Treffen N° 7 da die Sp gantz Zertrent worden.

e Spanier nach etliche treffē endtlich gar dar auß geſchlagē word



ggi wgē verbrnt
da die ſpaniſchen
den.

it, ſuitable to his own *ends*. If the *Proteſtant Party* had been *Conquerors*, it ſhould not have been by the means of a *General* that could fight for it, and preſently after take Arms againſt it: Such *luke-warm* tempers are not of a *Heavenly Conſtitution*! Therefore in all great *Actions*, reſpect the *Men*, as well as the *Cauſe*: for God ſeldom doth any great thing for his People by wicked Inſtruments.

Mansfeldt vexeth the Emperor ſtill.

Mansfeldt only, that was rejected and ſlighted by *Anhalt*, makes good his *fidelity*, by bearing up againſt the *power* of the *Emperor*; not that he was able to grapple with his whole *Force*, but being an active ſpritely man, and having a nimble moving Army of fourteen or fifteen thouſand men, he did haraſſe the Countries, force Contribution from the Cities, and when any greater *power* came againſt him, he got from them into another Country, and harrowed that, to their perpetual vexation: So that he was as goads in their ſides, and thorns in their eyes. And thus he continued in deſpight of the *Emperor*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, for almoſt two years after, till they were conſtrained to purchaſe their *peace* of him at a dear rate; to which *Mansfeldt* was alſo inforced, not finding aſſiſtance nor Supplies to ſupport him.

Eſſex ſolicits our King for more Forces.

As ſoon as the Princes in the *Palatinate* were retired to their Quarters, before the great loſs at *Prague* came to their knowledge, the Earl of *Eſſex* with a Convoy of Horſe to *Swibruken*, paſſed into *Lorain*, and through *France* poſted for *England*, to ſolicit the King to ſend thoſe Regiments promiſed, and other Supplies (if poſſible) that the *Engliſh* there, and the whole Countrey, might not be expoſed to *ruine*. But when he came into *England*, he found the *Court Air* of another temper, and not as he left it; for it was much more inclined to the *Spaniſh Meridian*. And though *Gondemar*, the King of *Spain*'s Ambaſſador, at the departure of one of his *Agents* into *Spain*, facetiouſly bad him commend him to the *Sun*, for he had ſeen none here a long while, yet we had the *Spaniſh* influence hot among us, the King himſelf warmed with it; then what will not the *Court* be?

Obſtructed by *Gondemar*.

The King and his Miniſters of State had ſeveral *ends*, and drive different *deſigns*. His was, for the matching of his Son with ſome great Princeſs, aiming at no other *glory*, though he debaſed himſelf to purchaſe it. For preſently after he received a Denial in *France*, he ſent to Sir *John Digby*, his Leidger Ambaſſador in *Spain*, to treat of a Marriage betwixt the Prince of *Wales*, and the *Infanta Maria*, Siſter to that King, which was in 1617. No *blood* but *blood Royal* can be a *propitiatory Offering* for his Son; yet the beſt *Sacrifice* is an *humble ſpirit*. No matter what *Religion*, what *Piety*; that is not the *Queſtion*. When Kings have earthly aims, without conſideration of God, God looks to

his

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his own *Glory*, without reſpect of man. The little *foundation* of *hope* they built upon at that time, was now raiſed to a *formal building*, by the cunning practices of *Gondemar*, who aſſured the King, it was his Maſter's real intention the Prince ſhould marry the *Infanta*. And he wiſhed the King his Maſter had all the *Palatinate* in his power, to preſent it as a *donative* to the Prince with his fair Miſtris.

The King (that now heard all was loſt in *Bohemia*, ſaw little poſſibility of injoying the *Palatinate* quietly, but by the Treaty of a Marriage) was lulled aſleep with *Gondemar*'s windy promiſes, which Sir *John Digby* ſeconded, being lately made Vice-Chamberlain to the King, Baron of *Sherborn*, and a great manager of the affairs at Court. Sir *Walter Aſton* being ſent Leidger Ambaſſador into *Spain*, for the general correſpondence. And the King anchoring his *hopes* upon theſe ſhallow promiſes, made himſelf unable to prevent the *Tempeſt* of *War* that fell on the *Palatinate*, tying up his own hands, and ſuffering none to quench the *Fire* that devoured his Childrens *Patrimony*.

Spaniſh Penſioners.

On the other ſide, the great Courtiers that were our King's intimates, and had his ears, either through *eaſineſs*, willing to pleaſe his *humour*, and not daring to oppoſe it; or elſe being *Papiſts* and *Penſioners* to *Spain*, ſtriving to promote the *Catholick Cauſe*, out of love to it, or being ſuppled by that inſinuating Miniſter *Gondemar* (who had his Maſter's purſe at command, and purchaſed ſuch as he thought to be moſt uſeful to his ends) were content to let the King go which way the ſtream of his affection carried him, and ſome of them put hand to the Oar. Thoſe that were looked on under the name of *Spaniſh*, were *Arundel*, *Worceſter*, *Digby*, *Calvert*, *Weſton*, and ſome others *Popiſhly* affected; then *Buckingham*, and all the Train he ſwept along with him (except that party which his Mother managed) advanced the *Spaniſh Match* out of love to their Maſter. The Duke of *Lenox*, the Marqueſs *Hamilton*, both *Scotchmen*, and old ſervants, of great credit with him, and intereſt in his Counſels, were not ſo active; no more was *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, who after *Somerſet*'s fall (by the late Queen's mediation) was made Lord Chamberlain to the King, a man that merited the higheſt imployment: For theſe finding the King's *Genius* tending to the *Spaniſh Match*, and he a known Maſter of his own *Reaſon*, did not oppoſe him with a conteſting ſpirit, but gave him ſome little hints, that he might know they were not of his mind. And he being able to *ſteer* his own courſe, looked after no other Pilot but *Gondemar*, and thoſe that knew the Chanel. Making *Buckingham* his inſtrument and only boſom-Counſellor in thoſe affairs, which afterwards brought the hatred of the people with the more violence upon him: For they look not upon the King in any



WILLIAM HERBERT Earl of PEMBROOKE &c.

Sr Ant. Vandyck pinx.

any miſcarriage with an *eye* of *Anger* (ſuch was the *Engliſh* modeſty, if Kings had been ſenſible of it) but upon ſuch intimate Miniſters, as he makes active in thoſe things which are contrary to their affection. And though there were general *murmurs* in the *breaſts* of the people, which found vent enough in *corners*, yet the *Council-table*, and *Star-chamber* are ſuch terrifiers, that (as one ſaid) *none durſt run riot*, but keep at the *ſtirrop*, at excellent command, and come in at the leaſt *rebuke* or *check*.

Papiſts flouriſh.

It was thought the *Papiſts* did much contribute to *Gondemar*'s liberality; for they began to flouriſh in the Kingdom, he having procured many *Immunities* for them, and they uſed all their induſtry to further the *Match*, hoping that if the Prince did not adhere to *Rome*, yet his *Offspring* might; and at preſent looked for little leſs than a *Toleration*.

Gondemar's power.

No ſtubborn piece of either *Sex* ſtood in *Gondemar*'s way, but he had an *Engin* to remove them, or ſcrew them up to him. None that complied with him but found the effects of his friendſhip; many *Jeſuits* fared the better for his interceſſion, he releaſing *numbers*, among the reſt one *Bauldwin*, an *arch-Prieſt*, accuſed to have had a hand in the *Gunpowder-Treaſon*, and had been ſeven years in the Tower, a man of a dangerous and miſchievous *ſpirit*, who was (after his releaſe) made *Rector* of the *Jeſuits College* at St. *Omers*. By his *Artifices* and *Negotiations* (having been time enough Ambaſſador in *England* to gain credit with the King) he got Sir *Robert Manſel* (the Vice-Admiral) to go into the *Mediterranean* ſea, with a Fleet of Ships to fight againſt the *Turks* at *Algier*, who were grown too ſtrong and formidable for the *Spaniard* (moſt of the King of *Spain*'s Gallions attending the *Indian* Trade, as Convoys for his Treaſures, which he wanted to ſupply his Armies) and he tranſported *Ordnance*, and other *Warlike Proviſions* to furniſh the *Spaniſh Arſenals*, even while the Armies of *Spain* were battering the *Engliſh* in the *Palatinate*; ſo open were the King's ears to him, ſo deaf to others: For Sir *Robert Nanton*, one of his Secretaries (a Gentleman of known honeſty and integrity) ſhewed but a little diſlike of thoſe proceedings, and he was commanded from Court, and *Conwey* was put in his place. And *Gondemar* had as free acceſs to the King as any Courtier of them all (*Buckingham* excepted) and the King took delight to talk with him; for he was full of *Conceits*, and would ſpeak *falſe Latin* a purpoſe in his merry fits to pleaſe the King; telling the King plainly, *He ſpoke Latin like a Pedant; but I ſpeak it like a Gentleman:* And he wrought himſelf ſo by ſubtilty into the King's good affections, that he did not only work his own will, but the King's into a belief that the Treaties in agitation, were (though ſlow) real and effectual. So eaſily may wiſe men be drawn to thoſe things their deſires with *violence* tend to.

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Prevails with both Sexes.

And he caſt out his *Baits* not only for men; but if he found an *Atalanta*, whoſe tongue went nimbler than her feet, he would throw out his golden Balls to catch them alſo. And in theſe times there were ſome *Ladies*, pretending to be *Wits* (as they called them) or had fair *Neices*, or *Daughters*, which drew great *Reſort* to their houſes; and where company meet, the diſcourſe is commonly of the *times* (for every man will vent his *paſſion*) theſe *Ladies* he ſweetned with *Preſents*, that they might allay ſuch as were too ſower in their *expreſſion*, to ſtop them in the courſe, if they ran on too faſt, and bring them to a gentler pace. He lived at *Ely-Houſe* in *Holborn*, his paſſage to the Court was ordinarily through *Drury-lane* (the *Covent-Garden* being then an incloſed field) and that Lane and the *Strand* were the places where moſt of the *Gentry* lived, and the *Ladies* as he went, knowing his times, would not be wanting to appear in their Balconies, or Windows, to preſent him their *Civilities*, and he would watch for it; and as he was carried in his *Litter* or *bottomleſs Chair* (the eaſieſt ſeat for his *Fiſtula*) he would ſtrain himſelf as much as an old man could to the humbleſt poſture of *Reſpect*. One day paſſing by the Lady *Jacob*'s houſe in *Drury-lane*, ſhe expoſing her ſelf for a *Salutation*, he was not wanting to her, but ſhe moved nothing but her *mouth*, gaping wide open upon him. He wondred at the *Ladie's incivility*, but thought that it might be happily a yawning fit took her at that time; for trial whereof, the next day he finds her in the ſame place, and his *Courteſies* were again accoſted with no better expreſſions than an *extended mouth*. Whereupon he ſent a Gentleman to her, to let her know, that the *Ladies* of *England* were more gracious to him, than to incounter his *Reſpects* with ſuch *Affronts*. She anſwered, it was true that he had purchaſed ſome of their *favours* at a *dear rate*, *And ſhe had a mouth to be ſtopt as well as others*. *Gondemar* finding the cauſe of the emotion of her mouth, ſent her a *Preſent*, as an *Antidote*, which cured her of that diſtemper.

Vanity of this Age.

Theſe kind of *Spirits* were let looſe to be ſuitable to the times they lived in, and they wrought ſtrange effects; for this being a Widdow, and of no good Fame, with her ſubtilties intrapt in her nets, and married a famous *Lawyer*, a man of great *Reputation*, and a pregnant wit; and many other young Gentlewomen (whom their Parents debaucheries drive to neceſſities) made their *Beauties* their *fortunes*, coming to *London* to put them to ſale, and ſome of them had ſo good Markets, that they obtained great *Penſions* during their lives, and afterwards were married to men of eminent parts, and fortunes, accounted wiſe, gallant, and *Heroical ſpirits*. Such *ſilly Fate* often intermingles with thoſe parts though never ſo excellent, when the *ſenſitive* faculties get predominance over the *Reaſon*! And ſuch men as were



ELY HOUSE.

Engrav'd from an original Drawing.



ELIZ^th COUNTESS of BUCKINGHAM
From her Monument in Westminster Abbey

were affected to *wantonneſs*, would vulgarly brag of it; nay, many times to the traducing of a *Ladies fame*, and their own (I cannot ſay) *innocence*: For ſome would ſay, and vent it as an *Apothegm*, *I would rather be thought to enjoy ſuch a Lady, though I never did it, than really to enjoy her, and no body know it.* Such pride was taken in ſin, and ſo brazen-faced and impudent ſuch *crimes* were then! And though men thought them ſmall, and trivial, yet they were of ſuch weight, that they preſſed thoſe down that practiſed them (though great in the *Worlds Eye*) to be now in little better eſteem than the meaneſt of the People. But as *Tacitus* modeſtly covered the *faults* of ſome that followed *Nero* in his folly, and madneſs; *Ne nominatim tradam majoribus eorum tribuendum puto*, for the *honour* (he ſaith) of their *Anceſtors*; ſo though I name the *vices*, I ſhall ſpare the *Perſons*, out of reſpect to their *Poſterity*.

Buckingham rules all.

The Earl of *Buckingham*, as great in *Title* as in *Favour*, was now grown a *Marqueſs*; and lying all this while in the King's *boſom*, every man paid tribute to his *ſmiles*. As the King bought off *Worceſter*, to make him Maſter of the Horſe; ſo he bought off *Nottingham*, to make him Admiral. What may not he have, that is not only Maſter of his Horſe, and Ships, but his Heart alſo? His Mother is created a Counteſs by *Patent*, and her ſecond Husband, Sir *Thomas Compton*, had no other *Title* but an *unworthy one*, which the People (either out of their *anger*, or her *miſdemeanour*) impoſed upon him. Her eldeſt Son, firſt made Sir *John Villiers*, after Viſcount *Purbeck*, married to the Daughter and Heir of the Lady *Elizabeth Hatton* by Sir *Edward Cook*; a Lady of tranſcending *beauty*, but accuſed for *wantonneſs*. *Purbeck* not well able to look down from theſe great *heights*, got a giddineſs in his head, which confined him to a *dark room*. Her other Son, firſt made Sir *Chriſtopher Villiers*, was after created Earl of *Angleſey*, whoſe *honour* mixt with a *weak brain*, could not buoy him up from ſinking into that diſtemper that drowns the beſt *Wits*. Her Daughter preſently after alſo ſhined in the ſame *Sphere* with her, her Husband being from a private Gentleman made Earl of *Denbigh*. Happy is he can get a Kinſwoman, it is the next way to a thriving Office, or ſome new ſwelling Title. The King, that never much cared for Women, had his Court ſwarming with the Marqueſſes kindred ſo, that *little ones* would dance up and down the *privy Lodgings* like *Pharies*; and it was no ſmall *ſap* would maintain all thoſe *ſuckers*.

A Duel betwixt *Compton*, and *Bird*.

And now we have named Sir *Thomas Compton*, there will follow a Story of his youthful *Actions*, which though done long ſince, will not be uncomly to croud in here. He had the remark of a ſlow-ſpirited man when he was young, and truly his Wife made him retain it to the laſt. But ſuch as found him

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ſo in thoſe *vigorous days* of *Duelling*, would trample on his eaſineſs; and there could not a worſe *Character* be imprinted on any man, than to be termed a *Coward*. Among the reſt, one *Bird*, a roaring Captain, was the more bold and inſolent againſt him becauſe he found him ſlow, and backward (which is a *baſeneſs* of an *over-daring nature*) and his *provocations* were ſo great, that ſome of *Compton*'s Friends taking notice of it, told him, It were better to die nobly once, than to live infamouſly ever; and wrought ſo upon his cold temper, that the next affront that this bold *Bird* put upon him, he was heartned into the Courage to ſend him a Challenge. *Bird*, a maſſy great Fellow, confident of his own ſtrength (diſdaining *Compton*, being leſs both in Stature and Courage) told the Second that brought the Challenge, in a vapouring manner, That he would not ſtir a foot to incounter *Compton*, unleſs he would meet him in a Saw-pit, where he might be ſure *Compton* could not run away from him: The Second, that looked upon this as a *Rodomontado* fancy, told him, That if he would appoint the Place, *Compton* ſhould not fail to meet him. *Bird* making choice both of the Place, and Weapon (which in the vain formality of Fighters, was in the election of the Challenged) he choſe a Saw-pit, and a ſingle Sword, where, according to the time appointed, they met. Being both together in the Pit, with ſwords drawn, and ſtript ready for the encounter, *Now* Compton (ſaid *Bird*) *thou ſhalt not eſcape from me*; aand hovering his ſword over his head, in a diſdainful manner, ſaid, *Come* Compton, *let's ſee what you can do now*: *Compton* attending his buſineſs with a watchful eye, ſeeing *Bird*'s Sword hovering over him, ran under it, in upon him, and in a moment run him through the body, ſo that his *pride* fell to the ground, and there did ſpraul out its laſt *vanity*. Which ſhould teach us, that ſtrong preſumption is the greateſt weakneſs, and it is far from wiſdom in the moſt arrogant *Strength*, to ſlight and diſdain the meaneſt *Adverſary*. There is yet in *bleeding memory* (even in theſe *Times* of *juſt ſeverity* againſt this *impious Duelling*) one of the ſame Family of the *Compton*'s, in ſome part guilty of *Bird*'s Crime; for the *Provoker* to ſuch horrid *Encounters* ſeldom eſcapes, the *Divine Juſtice* permitting ſuch violent *madneſs* to tend to its own *deſtruction*. But to return to our Story.

Two Lord Treaſurers in one year.

Sir *Henry Mountague*, Lord Chief Juſtice (as the Reports of thoſe Times lively voted) laid down twenty thouſand pounds for the Office of Lord *Treaſurer*; and before the year expired, it was conferred upon Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, who had been a Citizen of *London*, bred up in the *Cuſtom-houſe*, and knowing the *ſecret contrivances* of thoſe Officers, was thought fitteſt to manage the King's Revenue: For in expenſive and wanting *Courts*, thoſe great Officers are moſt acceptable, that by their *fineneſſes* and *projects*, can bring in that, which with *riot* and *prodigality* goes



Prenobilis Henrici Comi: Manchester
Dñi. Custodis Privati Sigil: Angl: etc.

goes out. But the great ſtep to his Office, was *Cranfield*'s marrying one of the Marqueſſe's kindred, which mounted him preſently after to be Earl of *Middleſex*. The Lord chief Juſtice for his Money was made a *Precedent*, as ſome jeſted; the King finding him a man intelligent in all the great Affairs of State, made him Lord *Preſident* of the Council, Viſcount *Mandevill*, and Earl of *Mancheſter*, and after the death of *Worceſter*, was Lord *Privy Seal*.

The Counteſs of *Buck.* rules her Son.

But though the Marqueſs of *Buckingham* in appearance acted all theſe Removes, and Advancements, yet his Mother, the Counteſs, wrought them in effect, for her hand was in all Tranſactions, both in Church and State; and ſhe muſt needs know the *diſpoſition* of all things, when ſhe had a feeling of every man's *pulſe*; for moſt Addreſſes were made to her firſt, and by her conveyed to her Son (for he looked after his *pleaſure* more than his *profit*) which made *Gondemar* (who was well skilled in *Court Holy-Water*) among other his witty *pranks*, write merrily in his Diſpatches into *Spain*, *That there was never more hope of* England's *Converſion to* Rome, *than now; for there are more prayers and oblations offered here to the Mother, than to the Son.*

Buckingham a lover of Ladies.

For the Marqueſs himſelf, as he was a man of excellent *ſymmetry*, and proportion of *parts*, ſo he affected *beauty*, where he found it; but yet he looks upon the whole race of *Women*, as inferior things, and uſes them as if the *Sex* were one, beſt pleaſed with all: And if his *eye* cull'd out a wanton *beauty*, he had his Setters that could ſpread his Nets, and point a meeting at ſome *Ladies* Houſe, where he ſhould come (as by accident) and find Acceſſes, while all his Train attended at the dore, as if it were an *honourable viſit*. The Earl of *Rutland*, of a Noble Family, had but one Daughter to be the *Miſtris* of his great *Fortune*, and he tempts her, carries her to his *Lodgings* in *Whitehall*, keeps her there for ſome time, and then returns her back again to her Father. The ſtout old Earl ſent him this threatning Meſſage, *That he had too much of a Gentleman to ſuffer ſuch an indignity, and if he did not marry his Daughter to repair her honour, no greatneſs ſhould protect him from his juſtice. Buckingham*, that perhaps made it his *deſign* to get the Father's good will this way (being the greateſt *match* in the Kingdom) had no reaſon to miſlike the *Union*, therefore he quickly ſalved up the *wound*, before it grew to a *quarrel*: And if this Marriage ſtopt the Current of his ſins, he had the leſs to anſwer for. This young Lady was bred a *Papiſt* by her Mother, but after her Marriage to the Marqueſs, ſhe was converted by Doctor *White* (as was pretended) and grew a *zealous Proteſtant*, but like a *morning dew*, it quickly vaniſhed: For the old Counteſs of *Buckingham* never left working by her ſweet Inſtruments the

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Jeſuits, till ſhe had placed her on the firſt *foundation*. So that the Marqueſs, betwixt a Mother and a Wife, began to be indifferent, no *Papiſt*, yet no *Proteſtant*; but the *Arminian Tenets* taking root, were nouriſhed up by him, and thoſe that did not hold the ſame opinions, were counted *Puritans*. Theſe new indifferences now grew ſo hot in *England*, that the *Proteſtant* Cauſe grew very cold in *Germany*. Which made the *ſpirits* of moſt men riſe againſt the *Spaniſh Faction* at home, and *Spain's* incroaching *Monarchy* abroad.

The King calls a Parliament.

And though the King ſped ill the laſt Parliament of *Somerſet's* undertaking, and thought to lay them by for ever (as he often expreſſed) looking upon them as incroachers into his *Prerogative*, and diminiſhers of his *Majeſty*, and *Glory*, making Kings leſs, and Subjects more than they are; Yet now, finding the peoples deſires high-mounted for regaining the *Palatinate*, he thought they would look only up towards that, and liberally open their *Purſes*, which he might make uſe of; and this *Unanimity* and good agreement, betwixt him and his people, would induce his *Brother* of *Spain* to be more *active* in the *Treaty* in hand, and ſo he ſhould have *ſupply* from the *one*, and *diſpatch* from the *other*. But *Parliaments* that are like *Phyſicians* to the *bodies* of *Common-wealths*, when the *humors* are once ſtirred, they find cauſe enough many times to adminiſter ſharp *Medicines*, where there was little appearance of *Diſeaſes*. For in this *Receſs* and *Eaſe*, *Time-ſervers*, and *Flatterers*, had cried up the *Prerogative*; And the King wanting Money for his vaſt expenſes, had furniſhed himſelf by unuſual courſes. For Kings exceſſive in *gifts*, will find followers exceſſive in *demands*; and they that weaken themſelves in giving, loſe more in gathering, than they gain in the gift: *For Prodigality in a Soveraign, ends in the Rapine and Spoil of the Subject.* To help himſelf therefore and thoſe that drained from him, he had granted ſeveral *Patents* to undertakers, and *Monopolizers*, whereby they preyed upon the people by ſuits and exactions, milkt the Kingdom, and kept it poor, the King taking his eaſe, and giving way to Informers; the *Gentry* grown debauched, and *Faſhion-mongers*, and the Commons, ſopt, and beſotted with quiet and reſtineſs, drunk in ſo much *diſability*, that it might well be ſaid by *Gondemar*, England *had a great many people, but few men.* And he would ſmile at their *Muſters*; for through diſuſe they were grown careleſs of *Military Diſcipline*, ill provided of *Arms*, effeminate; Officers neglecting their *charges* and *duties*, conniving for gain at their *Neighbours miſcarriages.* Some of the Officers in the *Militia*, and *Juſtices* of the *Peace* not a few, being *Church-Papiſts*, floating upon the ſmooth ſtream of the times, overwhelming all others that oppoſed them, *ſtigmatizing* them with the name of *Puritans*, and that was mark enough to hinder the current of

Sir *Rob. Cotton Hen.* 3.

of any proceeding or preferment aimed at, or hoped for, either in *Church* or *State*.

Jeſuits ſwarm.

And the *Jeſuits* ranging up and down (like *ſpirits* let looſe) did not now, as formerly, creep into corners, uſing cloſe and cunning *Artifices*, but practiſed them openly, having admiſſion to our Counſellors of State; for when Secretaries, and ſuch as manage the intimate Counſels of Kings are *Jeſuitical*, and *Clients* to the *Pope*, there can be no tendency of *affection* to a contrary *Religion* or *Policy*. Thoſe were only moſt active in the Court of *England*, that courted the King of *Spain* moſt, and could carry the face of a *Proteſtant*, and the heart of a *Papiſt*, the reſt were contented to go along with the *cry*: For they hunted but a *cold ſcent*, and could pick out, and make nothing of it, that drew *off*, or *croſt*, or hunted *counter*. Which raiſed the *ſpirits* of the people ſo high againſt them, that were the chief *Hunters* in theſe times, that they brought the King himſelf within the *compaſs* of their *Libels* and *Paſquils*, charging him to love his *hounds* better than his *people*. And if this bad blood had been heated to an itch of Innovation, it would have broke out to a very ſore and incurable *Malady*; every man ſeeing the danger, few men daring to prevent it. The *Pulpits* were the moſt bold *Oppoſers*, but if they toucht any thing upon the *Spaniſh policy*, or the intended Treaties (for the *Reſtitution* of the *Palatinate* was included in the *Marriage* before it was the *Spaniards* to give) their *mouths* muſt be ſtopt by *Gondemar*, without the Lady *Jacob*'s *Receipt*, and (it may be) confined, or impriſoned for it: So that there were no plain downright blows to be given, but if they cunningly, and ſubtily, could glance at the miſdemeanors of the Times, and ſmooth it over *metaphorically*, it would paſs current, though before the King himſelf.

A Satyrical Sermon.

For about this time one of his own *Chaplains*, preaching before him at *Greenwich*, took this *Text*, 4 *Mat.* 8. *And the Devil took Jeſus to the top of a Mountain, and ſhewed him all the Kingdoms of the World, ſaying, All theſe will I give*, &c. He ſhewed what power the *Devil* had in the World at that time, when he ſpake theſe words, and from thence he came down to the power of the *Devil* now. And dividing the World into four parts, he could not make the leaſt of the four to be *Chriſtian*, and of thoſe how few went God's way? So that he concluded the *Devil* to be a great *Monarch*, having ſo many Kingdoms under his command, and no doubt he had his *Vice-Roys*, *Council* of *State*, *Treaſurers*, *Secretaries*, and many other Officers to manage, and order his affairs; for there was *order* in *hell* it ſelf; which after he had muſtered together, he gives a *character* of every particular *Officer*, who were fit to be the *Devil*'s *ſervants*, running through the *body* of the *Court*, diſcovering the *correſpondencies* with *Jeſuits*, ſecret *Penſions* from Foreign Princes, betraying their Maſters Counſels

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Counsels to deserve their Rewards, working and combining to the prejudice of God's people. And when he came to describe the *Devil's Treasurers* exactions and gripings, to get mony, he fixt his *eye* upon *Cranfield*, then Lord *Treasurer* (whose marriage into the house of *Fortune*, and Title of *Earl*, could not keep him from being *odious* to the people) and pointing at him with his hand, said with an *Emphasis*, *That man* (reiterating it) *That man, that makes himself rich, and his Master poor, he is a fit Treasurer for the Devil.* This the *Author* heard, and saw, whilst *Cranfield* sat with his hat pulled down over his eyes, ashamed to look up, lest he should find all mens eyes fixt upon him; the King, who sat just over him, smiling at the quaint *Satyr* so handsomly coloured over. It seems *Neile*, the Bishop of *Lincoln* was not by him then; for when any man preached that had the *Renown* of *Piety* (unwilling the King should hear him) he would in the *Sermon* time, entertain the King with a *merry Tale* (that I may give it no worse title) which the King would after laugh at, and tell those near him, he could not hear the *Preacher* for the old *B. Bishop*. We must confess, this *Relation* smells too rank, but it was too true, and hope the *modest Reader* will excuse it (We having had divers hammerings and conflicts within us to leave it out) seeing it proceeds not from any rancour of *spirit* against the *Prelacy*, but to *vindicate* God's *Justice* to *Posterity*, (who never punishes without a Cause) and such like practices as these were doubtless put upon the *score*, which after gave a *period* to that *Hierarchy*. This man's hand helped to close up the Countess of *Essex*'s *Virginity*, when he was *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; his heart had this kind of *vanity* when he was *Lincoln*; and when he was Arch-bishop of *York* his head was so filled with *Arminian* impiety, that in the next King's Reign he was looked upon by the Parliament to be one of the great *Grievances* of the Kingdom, as will follow in the Tract of this *Story*.

Jesuitrices.

But *England* was not only man'd with *Jesuits* (all power failing to oppose them) but the women also began to practise the trade, calling themselves *Jesuitrices*. This *Order* was first set a foot in *Flanders*, by Mistris *Ward*, and Mistris *Twittis*, two *English* Gentlewomen, who clothed themselves in *Ignatian* habit, and were countenanced and supported by Father *Gerard*, Rector of the *English* College at *Liege*, with Father *Flack*, and Father *More*. But Father *Singleton*, Father *Benefield*, and others opposed them, and would not bless them with an *Ite, prædicate*; for their design was to preach the *Gospel* to their *sex* in *England*. And in short time this Mistris *Ward* (by the Pope's indulgence) became the Mother-general of no less than two hundred *English damsels* of good *birth* and *quality*, whom she sent abroad to preach, and they were to give account to her of their *Apostolick labours*. This *Spawn* out of the *mouth* of the *Beast*, and many other fine

Jesuitical



Lionell Cranfield Earle of Middlefex.
Baron Cranfield of Cranfield.

Jeſuitical exploits, are more particularly related by *Wadſworth* in his *Spaniſh Pilgrim* (who was ſon to that *Wadſworth*, that went over Chaplain into *Spain*, with our King's firſt Leidger Ambaſſador, Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, and there perverted by the *Jeſuits*) which young man being bred up at Saint *Omers*, in the *Nurſery* of *Jeſuitiſm*, diſcovered all their *machinations*. Such a brood of *Vipers* being then nouriſhed in the bowels of this Kingdom.

The Parliament meet the 20 *Jan.*

The King, that either thought theſe inſtruments were not ſo *active*, or that they would not be diſcovered, was reſolved upon a Parliament, for the former *Reaſons*, which began the twentieth of *January* this year; yet not being ignorant of ſome miſcarriages that paſſed by his allowance, he ſtrives to palliate them, and gives the Parliament ſome little touches of them by the way, that when they ſhould find them, they might (by his *Anticipation*) appear the leſs. And being loth to have the *breach* between him and his people made wider, he thus ſtrives to ſtop the *gap*.

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

"MY Lords, *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, and you the Commons, "*cui multiloquio non deeſt peccatum*. In the laſt Parliament "I made long Diſcourſes; eſpecially to them of the Lower "Houſe, I did open the true thought of my heart. But I may "ſay with our Saviour, *I have piped to you, and you have not dan-* "*ced, I have mourned, and you have not lamented.* Yet as no man's "*Actions* can be free, ſo in me, God found ſome ſpices of *Vani-* "*ty*, and ſo all my ſayings turned to me again, without any "*ſucceſs*. And now to tell the *Reaſons* of your *Calling*, and this "*Meeting*, apply it to your ſelves, and ſpend not the time in long "*Speeches*. Conſider, That the Parliament is a thing compoſed "of a *Head* and a *Body*; the *Monarch*, and the two *Eſtates*: It "was firſt a *Monarchy*, then after a *Parliament*; there are no *Par-* "*liaments* but in *Monarchical Governments*; for in *Venice*, the "*Netherlands*, and other Free-Governments, there are none. "The *Head* is to call the *Body* together, and for the Clergy the "Biſhops are chief, for Shires their Knights, and for Towns and "Cities their Burgeſſes and Citizens. Theſe are to treat of dif- "ficult matters, and to counſel their King with their beſt ad- "vice, to make Laws for the Commonweal; and the Lower- "Houſe is alſo to petition the King, and acquaint him with "their grievances, and not to meddle with their King's Prero- "gative. They are to offer ſupply for his neceſſity, and he to di- "ſtribute in recompence thereof *Juſtice* and *Mercy*. As in all "Parliaments, it is the King's office to make good Laws (whoſe "Fundamental Cauſe is the peoples ill manners) ſo at this "time. That we may meet with the new *Abuſes*, and the in- "croaching *craft* of the times, particulars ſhall be read hereafter.

"As

"As touching *Religion*. Laws enough are made already; it "ſtands in two points, *Perſuaſion* and *Compulſion*. Men may per- "ſuade, but God muſt give the *bleſſing*. *Jeſuits*, *Prieſts*, *Puritans*, "and *Sectaries*, erring both on the right-hand and left-hand, are "forward to perſuade unto their own ends; and ſo ought you "the Biſhops, in your example and preaching; but *compulſion* to "obey, is to bind the Conſcience.

"There is talk of the *Match* with *Spain*: But if it ſhall not "prove a furtherance to *Religion*, I am not worthy to be your "King: I will never proceed, but to the Glory of God, and "content of my Subjects.

"For a *ſupply* to my *neceſſities*. I have reigned eighteen years, "in which time you have had *Peace*, and I have received far leſs "*ſupply* than hath been given to any King ſince the *Conqueſt*. "The laſt Queen of *famous memory*, had one year with another "above a hundred thouſand pounds *per annum* in Subſidies. And "in all my time I had but four Subſidies, and ſix Fifteens. It is "ten years ſince I had a Subſidy, in all which time I have been "ſparing to trouble you. I have turned my ſelf as nearly to "ſave expence as I may. I have abated much in my Houſhold- "expences, in my Navies, in the charge of my Munition: I made "not choice of an old beaten Soldier for my *Admiral*, but ra- "ther choſe a young man, whoſe *honeſty* and *integrity* I knew; "whoſe care hath been to appoint under him ſufficient men to "leſſen my charges, which he hath done.

"Touching the *miſerable diſſentions* in *Chriſtendom*. I was not "the cauſe thereof; for the appeaſing whereof, I ſent my Lord "of *Doncaſter*, whoſe journey coſt me three thouſand five hun- "dred pounds. My Son-in-law ſent to me for advice, but within "three days after accepted of the Crown; which I did never "approve of for three *Reaſons*.

"Firſt, for *Religion* ſake, as not holding with the *Jeſuits* diſ- "poſing of Kingdoms, rather learning of our Saviour to uphold, "not to overthrow them.

"Secondly, I was no Judg between them, neither acquainted "with the Laws of *Bohemia*. *Quis me judicem fecit?*

"Thirdly, I have treated a *Peace*, and therefore will not be "a *party*. Yet I left not to preſerve my Childrens *patrimony*; for "I had a Contribution of my Lords and Subjects, which amoun- "ted to a great Sum. I borrowed of my Brother of *Denmark* "ſeven thouſand, five hundred pounds, to help him, and ſent "as much to him, as made it up ten thouſand: And thirty "thouſand I ſent to the Princes of the *Union* to hearten them. "I have loſt no time, had the Princes of the *Union* done their "part, that handful of men I ſent had done theirs. I intend to ſend "by way of perſuaſion, which in this Age will little avail, un- "leſs a ſtrong hand aſſiſt. Wherefore I purpoſe to provide an "Army


ROTTERD


TERDAM

"Army the next Summer, and deſire you to conſider of my ne-
"ceſſities, as you have done to my Predeceſſors. *Qui citò dat,*
"*bis dat.* I will engage my *Crown*, my *Blood*, and my *Soul* in
"that *Recovery.*

"You may be informed of me in things in courſe of *juſtice*;
"but I never ſent to any of my *Judges* to give Sentence con-
"trary to the Law. Conſider the *Trade*, for the making there-
"of better; and ſhew me the Reaſon why my *Mint*, for theſe
"eight or nine years, hath not gone. I confeſs, I have been
"*liberal* in my *Grants*, but if I be informed, I will amend all
"hurtful *grievances*: But who ſhall haſten after *grievances*,
"and deſire to make himſelf *popular*, he hath the Spirit of *Sa*
"*tan.* If I may know my *errors*, I will reform them. I was in
"my firſt *Parliament* a *Novice*; and in my laſt there was a kind
"of *Beaſts*, called *Undertakers*, a dozen of whom undertook to
"govern the laſt *Parliament*, and they led *me.* I ſhall thank you
"for your good *Office*, and deſire that the *World* may ſay well
"of our *Agreement.*

The Parliament comply with the King.

Phyſicians have an *Aphoriſm*, *Si caput infirmum, cætera membrum dolent.* This *Head* is not a weak one, but ſubtil enough for the *Body.* The *Parliament* knew well whom they had to deal with, and managed their buſineſs in the beginning, that they were the readier to grapple with him in the end. They would not ſtir a Stone of that *foundation* his *Prerogative* reſted on, but thoſe men that had wrought themſelves in, to ſupplant and undermine the Common Liberties, they fell ſore upon them.

Doncaſter's Ambaſſy expenſive.

The King was modeſt, and almoſt aſhamed to tell the Parliament, how much Money the Viſcount *Doncaſter's* Journey coſt, therefore he minces it into a ſmall proportion. But this we know, when he landed at *Roterdam*, the firſt night and morning, before he went to the *Hague*, his Expences thoſe two meals, in the Inn where he lay, came to above a Thouſand Gilders, which is a Hundred pounds Sterling. And the Inn-keeper at the *Peacock* at *Dort* (hoping he would make that his way into *Germany*) made great Proviſions for him, upon no other Order, but a bare Fancy; and the *Ambaſſador* taking his way by *Utrecht*, the Inn-keeper of *Dort* followed him, complaining that he was much prejudiced by his baulking that Town: For hearing of a great *Ambaſſador's* coming, and what he had expended at *Roterdam*, I made (ſaith he) Preparations ſuitable, and now they will lye on my hands: Which coming to *Doncaſter's* ear, he commanded his *Steward* to give him Thirty pounds ſterling, and never taſted of his Cup. And we have been aſſured by ſome of his Train, that his very Carriages could not coſt ſo little as Threeſcore pounds a day, for he had with him

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him a great many Noblemens Sons, and other Perſonages of *quality*, that the *Germans* might admire the *glory* of the *Engliſh*, as well as the *French* did in his laſt *Ambaſſage*. And he was out ſo long following the *Emperor*, in his Progreſſes from City to Camp, and from Camp to City, a poor humble *Solicitor*, if not *Petitioner*, that his Expence could not amount to leſs than fifty, or threeſcore thouſand pounds.

He is feaſted by the Pr. of *Orange*.

When he was at the *Hague*, had made his viſits, and filled the Town with the admiration of his *bravery* and *feaſts*. Some intimates to *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, adviſed him to feaſt the great *Engliſh* Ambaſſador. *Yes, yes*, (ſaith the Prince) *bid him come.* When the Prince's Steward had notice of the invitation (from other hand, for the Prince gave no order in it) he comes to the Prince and tells him, there will be great *preparations* expected; for the Ambaſſador's *ordinary meals* were *Feaſts*; and he had an numerous and ſplendid Train of Nobles and Gentry, that did accompany him. *Well* (ſaid the Prince) *fit me a dinner, ſuch as I uſe to have, and let me ſee the bill of fare.* When the Steward brought the Bill, the Prince liked it well; but the Steward ſaid, Sir, *This is but your ordinary diet; now you ſhould have ſome thing extraordinary, becauſe this is an extraordinary Ambaſſador.* The Prince thinking ſome reaſon in the Steward's Arguments, and finding but one Pig nominated in the Bill, commanded him to put down another Pig, and that was all the additions he would make. Which Diſh as it is not very pleaſing and acceptable to the *Scots* Nation for the moſt part, ſo we know not whether it were by accident, or on purpoſe to diſpleaſe him. But this is well known, there could be nothing more contemptible to the *moroſe* and *ſevere* temper of the Princes ſpirit, than this *comportment* of *Doncaſter's*, which moſt men interpreted to be *pride* and *prodigality*. But truly (ſet thoſe vanities of *Grandure* aſide, for the honor, though not profit of his Maſter) He was a Gentleman every way compleat. His Bounty was adorned with Courteſie, his Courteſie not affected, but reſulting from a natural Civility in him. His Humbleneſs ſet him below the Envy of moſt, and his Bounty brought him into eſteem with many. A true Courtier for complying, and one that had Language enough to be *real* as well as *formal*; for he could perſonate both to the height of *expreſſion*. So that he was very fit for his imployment, though it were purchaſed at a dear rate.

His ſhort character.

Digby goes into *Germ.*

But to leave this digreſſion. Some ſmall time after the Parliament began, the King, according to his intentions and expreſſions in his Speech to them, diſpatched away the Lord *Digby* Ambaſſador to the Emperor, where he was to preſs for a punctual Anſwer, whether the *Palatinate* might be recovered by *Peace*, or *War*.

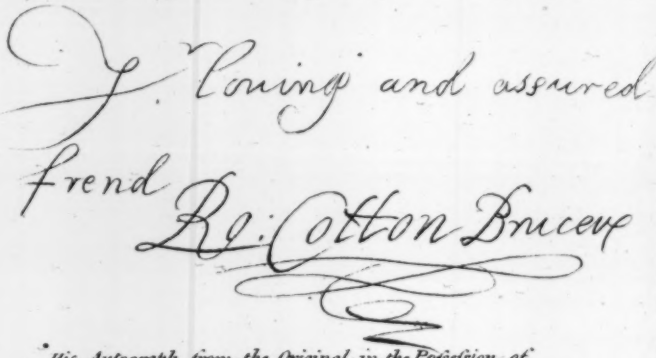
The King's wants.

And now expecting his return, and the Emperor's anſwer, the Parliament



Sir Robert Cotton.

From an Original by P. Van Somer.



His Autograph from the Original in the Poſſeſſion of John Thane.

Parliament go on with their Work, receiving divers Petitions from ſeveral perſons impriſoned and ruined, by the violent extortions of ſuch Miniſters, and Informers, as were active to promote the illegal exactions, that the King's neceſſities, and ill-adviſed Counſels drive him to. For he was grown very low, not having had the aſſiſtance of his people in ten years (as he himſelf notes) ſo that he was forced to leſſen his Houſhould, and bring his Expences down, not being willing to call a Parliament to ſupply him. Like *Henry* the third of *England*, whoſe Life and Reign, Sir *Robert Cotton* (that able underſtander and lover of *Antiquities*) wrote about this time, wherein he preſents that King ſo fearful of calling Parliaments, that he would rather pawn his Crown Jewels, give over his Houſe, *& cum Abbatibus, & Prioribus prandere*, dine and eat with the *Monks*, rather than be beholden to his people. And ſome thought this Piece of Sir *Robert Cotton*'s a Parallel for theſe times. But our King was not ſo much neceſſitated, though his wants were the greater, becauſe they confined the greatneſs of his mind.

The main things which the Parliament inſiſted on (though many others came by the by) were the three great Patents; for Inns, Ale-houſes, and Gold and Silver thred. Upon every Inn, and Ale-houſe, there was a great Fine and Annual Revenue ſet, throughout the Kingdom, and they that would not pay ſo much as the *Patentees* aſſeſt them at, their goods and perſons were ſeiſed on till they gave them ſatisfaction according to their *voraginous humours*. And they found out a new *Alchimiſtical* way to make Gold and Silver Lace, with Copper, and other *ſophiſticate materials*, to couzen and deceive the people; and no man muſt make, or vent any but ſuch *Factors* as they imployed, ſo that they ingroſſed all the whole trade of that *Ages vanity* (which was enough) and gave them counterfeit ware for their money: And if any man were found to make any other Lace than what was allowed by them, they were made to know (to their dear experience) the power of theſe *Ingroſſers*: And ſo poiſonous were the *Drugs* that made up this deceitful *Compoſition*, that they rotted the hands and arms, and brought *lameneſs* upon thoſe that *wrought* it; ſome loſing their *eyes*, and many their *lives* by the *venom* of the *vapours* that came from it. The peoples grievances.

The chief *Actors* in this *Peſtilent buſineſs*, were Sir *Giles Mompeſſon*, and Sir *Francis Michel*: Theſe two moved all the under-wheels. *Mompeſſon* had fortune enough in the Country to make him happy, if that *ſphere* could have contained him, but the vulgar and univerſal *error* of *ſatiety* with preſent injoyments, made him too big for a *ruſtical condition*, and when he came at Court, he was too little for that: So that ſome *Novelty* muſt be taken up, to ſet him (if he knew his own mind) in *Æquilibrio* *Mompeſſon* and *Michel* actors in them.

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to the place he was in; no matter what it was, let it be never ſo peſtilent and miſchievous to others; he cared not, ſo he found benefit by it. To him *Michel* is made *Compartner*, a poor ſneaking Juſtice, that lived among the *Brothels* near *Clerken-well*, whoſe Clark and he pickt a livelyhood out of thoſe *corners*, giving Warrants for what they did, beſides anniverſary ſtipends (the frequent Revenue of ſome Juſtices of thoſe times) for connivency. I know how neceſſary and how ſplendent it is for men of *publick minds* to flouriſh in the execution of *Juſtice*, for weeding out, and extirpating *vitious habits*, radicated in every corner; but this thing was a poiſonous Plant in its own nature, and the fitter to be an Ingredient to ſuch a Compoſition: Therefore he is brought to Court, Knighted, and corroborated by theſe Letters Patents, whereby he took liberty to be more ravenous upon poor people, to the grating of the *bones*, and ſucking out the very *marrow* of their ſubſtance.

The Parliaments goodneſs.

Theſe oppreſſions were throughly ripped up, and laid open by the Houſe of Commons. But together with theſe proceedings they took notice of the King's wants, and thought fit ſomething to ſweeten his temper, that they might not take from him the little profit he had by thoſe Patents, but they would make it up ſome other way, therefore they gave him two intire Subſidies, which were very acceptable unto him: For thoſe Contributions that flow from the peoples love, come freely like a Spring-tide; But illegal Taxes racked from their *bowels* (coming through ſo many Promoters and Catchpoles hands) run very low, and the King hath the leaſt ſhare.

The King hearing theſe Patents were anatomized in the Houſe of Commons, and willing to comply with his people, whom he found ſo bountiful unto him, he comes to the Houſe of Lords to cloſe gently with them, and excuſe the granting of thoſe Patents, ſhewing ſome reaſons why he did them, and the inſtructions he gave for the execution of them, by which he hoped to take off that ſharp reflexion that might light upon him. But the modeſty of Parliaments ſeldom impute any of theſe *miſcarriages* to the Prince, but the *Actors* under him muſt bear the burthen of it. And the time drawing near that the Lords aſſigned for judging the *Malefactors*, the King comes again to the Houſe upon the 26 of *March*, and thus paſſed his ſentence upon the Patents, before the Lords ſhould paſs theirs upon the executioners of them.

The Kings Speech to the Lords.

My Lords,

"THe laſt time I came hither, my errand was to inform you "(as well as my memory could ſerve me of things ſo long "paſſed) of the *verity* of my proceedings, and the *caution* uſed "by me in paſſing thoſe Letters Patents, which are now in *que-*

"*ſtion*



Thomas Earle of Arundell & Surrey:
Earle Marſhall, & Lord high Steward of
England. etc.

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"*ſtion* before you, to the effect that they might not be abuſed in "the execution: And this I did by way of *Declaration*. But now "I am come (underſtanding the time of your *cenſure* at hand) "to expreſs my readineſs to put in execution (which is the *life* "of the *Law*) thoſe things which ye are to *ſentence* (for even the "*Law* it ſelf is a *dead Letter* without *execution*) for which office "God hath appointed me in theſe Kingdoms. And though I aſ-"ſure my ſelf that my former *behaviour*, in all the *courſe* of my "life, hath made me well known for a juſt King; yet in this "ſpecial caſe, I thought fit to expreſs my own intentions, out "of my own mouth, for puniſhment of things complained of. "The firſt proof whereof I have given, by the diligent ſearch I "cauſed to be made after the perſon of Sir *Giles Mompeſſon*, who "though he were fled, yet my Proclamation perſued him in-"ſtantly: And as I was earneſt in that, ſo will I be to ſee your "*ſentence* againſt him put in *execution*.

"Two reaſons move me to be earneſt in the execution of what "ye are to ſentence at this time.

"Firſt, That duty I owe to God, who hath made me a King, and "tied me to the care of Government, by that *politick Marriage* "betwixt me and my people: For I do aſſure you in the *Heart* "of an honeſt man, and by the Faith of a *Chriſtian* King (which "both ye, and all the World know me to be) had theſe things "been complained of to me before the Parliament, I would have "done the office of a juſt King, and out of Parliament have pu-"niſhed them, as ſeverely, and peradventure more than ye now "intend to do. But now that they are diſcovered to me in Par-"liament, I ſhall be as ready in this way, as I ſhould have been "in the other. For I confeſs, I am aſhamed (theſe things prov-"ing ſo as they are generally reported to be) that it was not "my good fortune to be the only Author of the *Reformation*, "and puniſhment of them, by ſome ordinary Courts of Juſtice. "Nevertheleſs, ſince theſe things are now diſcovered by Parlia-"ment, which before I knew not of, nor could ſo well have diſ-"covered otherwiſe, in regard of that *Repreſentative Body* of "the Kingdom, which comes from all parts of the Country; I "will be never a-whit the ſlower to do my part for the execu-"tion. For (as many of you that are here, have heard me of-"ten ſay, and ſo I will ſtill ſay) So precious unto me is the *publick* "good, that no *private perſon* whatſoever (were he never ſo dear "unto me) ſhall be reſpected by me by many degrees as the pub-"lick good, not only of the whole Common-wealth, but even "of a *particular Corporation*, that is a *Member* of it. And I hope "that ye my Lords will do me that *right*, to publiſh to my peo-"ple this my *heart* and *purpoſe*.

"The ſecond *Reaſon* is, That I intend not to derogate or in-"fringe, any of the Liberties, or Privileges of this Houſe, but

"rather to fortifie and ſtrengthen them: For never any King "hath done ſo much for the Nobility of *England* as I have done, "and will ever be ready to do. And whatſoever I ſhall ſay, and "deliver unto you as my thought, yet when I have ſaid what I "think, I will afterwards freely leave the Judgment wholly "to your Houſe. I know you will do nothing but what the like "hath been done before, and I pray you be not jealous that I "will abridge you of any thing that hath been uſed: For what-"ſoever the *Precedents* (in times of *good Government*) can war-"rant, I will allow. For I acknowledge this to be the *ſupreme* "*Court* of *Juſtice*, wherein I am ever preſent by *Repreſentation*. "And in this ye may be the better ſatisfied by my own *preſence*, "coming divers times among you: Neither can I give you "any greater aſſurance, or better pledge of this my purpoſe, "than that I have done you the *honor* to ſet my only Son a-"mong you, and hope that ye with him, ſhall have the means "to make this the happieſt Parliament that ever was in "*England*.

"This I profeſs, and take *comfort* in, that the Houſe of Com-"mons at this time have ſhewed greater love, and uſed me with "more reſpect in all their *proceedings*, than ever any Houſe of "Commons have heretofore done to me, or I think to any of my "*Predeceſſors*. As for this Houſe of yours, I have always found "it reſpective to me, and accordingly do I, and ever did fa-"vour you, as you well deſerved. And I hope it will be ac-"counted a *happineſs* for you, that my Son doth now ſit among "you; who, when it ſhall pleaſe God to ſet him in my place, will "then remember that he was once a Member of your Houſe, "and ſo be bound to maintain all your *Lawful Privileges*, and "like the better of you all the days of his life. But becauſe "the World at this time talks ſo much of *Bribes*, I have juſt "cauſe to fear the whole *Body* of this *Houſe* hath *bribed* him to "be a good *Inſtrument* for you upon all occaſions: He doth ſo "good Offices in all his *Reports* to me, both for the *Houſe* in "*general*, and every one of you in *particular*. And the like I may "ſay of one that ſits there, *Buckingham*; He hath been ſo ready "upon all occaſions to do good Offices, both for the *Houſe* in "*general*, and every *Member* in *particular*. One proof thereof, "I hope, my Lord of *Arundel* hath already witneſſed unto you, "in his report made unto you of my anſwer touching the *Pri-"vileges* of the *Nobility*, how earneſtly he ſpake unto me of that "*matter*.

"Now, my Lords, the time draws near of your *Receſs*; "whether *Formality* will leave you time for proceeding now "to *Sentence* againſt all, or any of the perſons now in *que-ſtion*, I know not. But for my part, ſince both Houſes have dealt "ſo lovingly, and freely with me, in giving me, as a free

"Gift,

"Gift, two Subſidies, in a more loving manner than hath been "given to any King before, and ſo accepted by me. And ſince "I cannot yet retribute by a *General Pardon*, which hath by "Form uſually been reſerved to the end of a Parliament: The "leaſt I can do (which I can forbear no longer) is to do ſome-"thing in preſent, for the eaſe and good of my People. Three "Patents at this time have been complained of, and thought "great Grievances.

"1. That of the Inns, and Hoſteries.

"2. That of Ale-houſes.

"3. That of Gold and Silver Thread.

"My purpoſe is, to ſtrike them all *dead*, and that Time may "not be loſt, I will have it done preſently. That concerning "*Ale-houſes*, I would have to be left to the managing of Ju-"ſtices of the Peace, as before. That of Gold and Silver "Thread was moſt vilely executed, both for wrong done to "mens perſons, as alſo for abuſe in the Stuff, for it was a kind "of falſe Coin. I have already freed the Perſons that were in "Priſon, I will now alſo damn the Patent, and this may ſeem "inſtead of a Pardon. All theſe three I will have recalled by "Proclamation, and with you to adviſe of the fitteſt Form to "that purpoſe.

"I hear alſo there is another Bill among you againſt *Infor-"mers*; I deſire you, my Lords, that as you tender my *Honour*, "and the good of my *People*, ye will put that Bill to an end as "ſoon as you can, and at your next meeting to make it one of "your firſt works: For I have already ſhewed my diſlike of "that kind of people openly in *Star-Chamber*, and it will be the "greateſt eaſe to me, and all thoſe that are near about me at "*Court*, that may be. For I remember, that ſince the beginning "of this Parliament, *Buckingham* hath told me, he never found "ſuch quiet and reſt, as in this time of Parliament, from *Pro-"jecters* and *Informers*, who at other times miſerably vexed "him at all hours.

"And now I confeſs, that when I looked before upon the "face of the Government, I thought (as every man would "have done) that the People were never ſo happy as in my "time. For even as at divers times, I have looked upon many "of my *Coppices*, riding about them, and they appeared on the "outſide very thick, and well-grown unto me, but when I "turned into the midſt of them, I found them all bitten with "in, and full of Plains, and bare Spots, like an Apple or Pear "fair and ſmooth without, but when ye cleave it aſunder, "you find it rotten at the *heart*: Even ſo this Kingdom, the "external Government being as good as ever it was, and I am "ſure, as learned *Judges* as ever it had, and I hope as *honeſt*, ad-"miniſtring *Juſtice* within it; and for *Peace* both at home, and

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"abroad, I may truly ſay more ſetled, and longer laſting, than "ever any before, together with as great *Plenty* as ever; ſo as it "was to be thought, that every Man might ſit in ſafety under his "own *Vine*, and *Figtree:* Yet I am aſhamed (and it makes my "hair ſtand upright) to conſider, how in this time my People "have been *vexed*, and *polled*, by the vile execution of *Projects*, "*Patents*, *Bills* of *Conformity*, and ſuch like, which beſides the "trouble of my People, have more exhauſted their *purſes* than "*Subſidies* would have done.

"Now my Lords, before I go hence, ſince God hath made "me the great *Judge* of this Land under him, and that I muſt an-"ſwer for the *juſtice* of the ſame, I will therefore, according to "my Place remember you of ſome things, though I would not "teach you; for no man's *knowledge* can be ſo good, but their "*memories* will be the better to be refreſhed. And now, becauſe "you are coming to give *Judgment* (all which moves from the "the King) that you may the better proceed, take into your "*Care* two things.

"1. To do *Bonum.*

"2. To do it *Benè.*

"I call *Bonum*, when all is well proved, whereupon ye "judge, for then ye build upon a ſure *Foundation.* And by "*Benè* I underſtand, that ye proceed with all *formality* and "*legality*; wherein you have fit *occaſion* to adviſe with the "*Judges*, who are to aſſiſt you with their *Opinions*, in *Caſes* of "that *Nature*, and woe be to them if they adviſe you not well. "So the *ground* being good, and the *form* orderly, it will prove "a *Courſe* fitting this High Court of *Parliament.*

"In *Sentence* ye are to obſerve two parts: Firſt, to recollect "that which is worthy of Judging, and Cenſuring; And Se-"condly, to proceed againſt theſe, as againſt ſuch like *Crimes* "properly. We doubt there will be many Matters before you, "ſome complained of out of *paſſion*, and ſome out of juſt Cauſe "of *grievance:* Weigh both, but be not carried away with the "impertinent Diſcourſes of them, that name as well *innocent* "men as *guilty.* Proceed judicially, and ſpare none, where ye "find juſt Cauſe to puniſh: But let your Proceedings be ac-"cording to *Law*, and remember that *Laws* have not their *eyes* "in their *necks*, but in their *foreheads.* For the *Moral Reaſon* "for the puniſhment of *Vices* in all Kingdoms, and Common-"wealths, is, becauſe of the breach of *Laws* ſtanding in force; "for none can be puniſhed for breach of *Laws* by *Predeſtination*, "before they be made.

"There is yet one particular that I am to remember you of; "I hear that Sir *Henry Yelverton* (who is now in the *Tower* upon "a *Sentence* given in the *Star-Chamber* againſt him for deceiving "my Truſt) is touched concerning a Warrant *Dormant*, which

"he

"he made while he was my *Attorney*: I proteſt I never heard "of this *Warrant dormant* before, and I hold it as *odious* a mat-"ter as any is before you. And if for reſpect to me ye have for-"born to meddle with him, in examination, becauſe he is my "*priſoner*, I do here freely remit him unto you, and put him in-"to your hands.

"And this is all I have to ſay unto you at this time, wiſhing "you to proceed juſtly and nobly, according to the *Orders* "of your *Houſe*: And I pray God to bleſs you, and you "may aſſure your ſelves of my aſſiſtance; Wiſhing, that what "I have ſaid this day among you, may be entred into the *Re-*"*cords* of this *Houſe*.

The King's Speech diſcanted on.

Thus the King ſtrove to mitigate the aſperity and ſharpneſs of the *humors* contracted in the Body of the Kingdom, that they might not break out to diſgrace the *Phyſician*: For he looked upon himſelf as an able *Director*, and yet he found he might be deceived; And therefore he brings the Lords into a *Wood*, comparatively to tell them, that they appeared to him well grown, and fair, but ſearching into them he found them otherwiſe. But he that pretended to the knowledge of all things, (as give him his *due* he was well known in moſt) could not be ignorant that the Patents he granted were againſt the Liberties of the people, but whether the execution of them to that *extremity* came within his *Cognizance* cannot be determined; his *damning* of them ſhews his diſlike at preſent, condemning that which he knew would be done to his hand, if he had not done it; and this muſt not be known only at *Weſtminſter*, and left upon *Record* to *Poſterity* there, but he commanded his *Speech* to be printed, that all his people might know, how willing and forward he was to aboliſh any *Act* of his that tended to a *grievance*. And though he did not accuſe the Marqueſs of *Buckingham* for giving way to Informers, yet he was much troubled with them till the Parliament began; and in that numerous crowd thoſe that brought profit were doubtleſs admitted with the firſt. Theſe conſiderations upon the King's Speech buzzed up and down, and many of the Parliament men looked upon the Marqueſs as the firſt mover of this great *Machine*; but the *Wiſdom* of the Houſe did not riſe ſo high as to ſtrike at the uppermoſt branches, but they pruned thoſe roundly they could reach. *Buckingham*, though he were well grown, had not yet *ſap* enough to make himſelf ſwell into *exuberancy*, as he did afterwards, nor was the peoples *malice* now againſt him ſo fertile, as to make every little weed, a dangerous and poyſonous plant, being ſubtile enough (yet) to crop off any, that might appear *venomous* in relation to himſelf, that the *miſchievous operations* might work upon others: For all the world knew *Mompeſſon* was his creature, and that notwithſtanding the King's Proclamation for his interception, he got out of the

Buckingham Maſter of the Work.

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the Kingdom by his Key: For *Buckingham* ruled as a Lord *Paramount*, and those that *complied* with him found as much *refuge* as his power could secure unto them; those that opposed him, as much *mischief* as *malice* could pour upon them. Sir *Henry Yelverton* the King's Attorney had found the effects of his *Anger*, by not closing with his desires in such Patents as he required; so that all his *Actions* being *anatomized*, some *miscarriages* are made *criminal*, he is committed to the Tower, and another put in his place that should be more *observant*. The King now lays upon him a Warrant *Dormant*, which did not much startle him; for he was not long after released and made a *Judge*, carrying with him this *character* of *honesty*, That he was willing to lay down his preferment at the King's feet, and be trod upon by the growing power of *Buckingham*, rather than prosecute his *Patron Somerset*, that had advanced him, as his Predecessor *Bacon* had spitefully done his. But whether that *Dialogue* betwixt *Buckingham* and *Yelverton* in the Tower, mentioned in our King's *Court*, have any thing of Truth, cannot be asserted here, *Buckingham* being not arrived yet to the *Meridian height* of his *Greatness*, though the King afterwards had cause enough to be jealous of his *Actions*.

Michel censured.

But now comes the old *Justice*, Sir *Francis Michell*, to his *Censure*, and the *crime* he had committed arguing a *base spirit*, he is fitted with as *suitable* a *punishment*. First he is *degraded*, with all the *ceremonies* of *debasement*; but that being most proper to his *nature*, he was but eased of a *burthen*, his mind suffered not; but then his *neckstie* carkass was made to *ride Renvers* with his face to the *horse tail* (with a paper on his breast and back, that pointed at the *foulness* of the *cause*) through the whole City, suffering under the scorn, and contempt of *Boys*, and rabble of the people, besides the squeezing of him by fine and confinement to prison, that he might never be more capable of *mischief*. The same sentence had Sir *Giles Mompesson*, but he was so *provident* as not to be found to pay it in his person, though he paid it in his purse. Some others also, their Instruments, though not so sharply dealt with, had great *mulcts* laid upon them according to their *demerit*, and so this *Gangrene* was healed up.

The Lord Chancellor *Bacon* questioned.

Not long after comes the great *Lord Chancellor Bacon* to a *Censure*, for the most *simple*, and *ridiculous follies*, that ever entred into the *heart* of a *Wise man*. He was the true *Emblem* of *humane frailty*, being *more* than a *man* in some things, and less than a *woman* in others. His *crime* was *Bribery*, and *Extortion* (which the King hinted at in his Speech, when he *facetiously* said, *He thought the Lords had bribed the Prince to speak well of them*) and these he had often condemned others for as a *Judge*, which now he comes to suffer for as a *Delinquent*: And they were proved, and aggravated against him with so many *circumstances*, that they fell very *foully* on him, both in *relation* to his *Reception* of them, and


FRANCISCVS BACON BARO DE VERVLAM S.T ALBYN
SEV NOTIORIBVS TITVLIS
SCIENTIARVM LVMEN FACVNDIÆ LEX
SIC SEDEBAT
QVI POST QVAM OMNIA NATVRALIS SAPIENTIÆ
ET CIVILIS ARCANA EVOLVISSET
NATVRÆ DECRETVM EXPLEVIT
COMPOSITA SOLVANTVR
AN DNI M.D.C.XXVI.
ÆTAT S LXVI.
TANTI VIRI
MEM.
THOMAS MEAVTYS
SVPERSTITIS CVLTOR
DEFVNCTI ADMIRATOR
H.P.

and his expending of them: For that which he raked in, and ſcrued for one way, he ſcattered and threw abroad another; for his Servants, being young, prodigal and expenſive Youths, which he kept about him, his Treaſure was their common Store, which they took without ſtint, having free acceſs to his moſt retired Privacies; and his indulgence to them, and familiarity with them, opened a *gap* to infamous *Reports*, which left an unſavoury *Tincture* on him; for where ſuch *Leeches* are, there muſt be *putrid blood* to fill their *craving Appetites*. His *gettings* were like a *Prince*, with a ſtrong hand; his *expences* like a *Prodigal*, with a weak head; and 'tis a wonder a man of his Noble, and Gallant Parts, that could fly ſo high above *Reaſon*, ſhould fall ſo far below it; unleſs that *Spirit* that *acted* the firſt, were too proud to ſtoop, to ſee the *deformities* of the laſt. And as he affected his men, ſo his Wife affected hers: Seldom doth the Husband deviate one way, but the Wife goeth another. Theſe things came into the *publick mouth*, and the *Genius* of the *Times* (where *malice* is not *corrival*) is the great *Dictator* of all *Actions*: For *innocency* it ſelf is a *crime*, when *calumny* ſets her mark upon it. How prudent therefore ought men to be, that not ſo much as their *garments* be defiled with the *ſour breath* of the *Times*!

This poor *Gentleman*, mounted above *pity*, fell down below it, His *Tongue*, that was the glory of his time for *Eloquence*, (that tuned ſo many ſweet *Harrangues*) was like a forſaken *Harp*, hung upon the *Willows*, whilſt the *waters* of *affliction* overflowed the *banks*. And now his high-flying *Orations* are humbled to *Supplications*, and thus he throws himſelf, and Cauſe, at the feet of his *Judges*, before he was condemned.

To the Right Honourable the Lords of the Parliament, in the Upper Houſe aſſembled,

The humble Submiſſion and Supplication of the Lord Chancellor.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhips,

His Supplication.

"I Shall humbly crave at your hands a benign interpretation "of that which I ſhall now write: for *words* that come from "waſted *ſpirits*, and oppreſſed *minds*, are more ſafe, in being "depoſited to a noble *conſtruction*, than being circled with any "reſerved *caution*.

"This being moved (and as I hope, obtained of your Lord-"ſhips) as a *protection* to all that I ſhall ſay, I ſhall go on; but "with a very ſtrange *Entrance*, as may ſeem to your Lordſhips "at firſt: for in the midſt of a *State*, of as great *affliction*, as

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"I think a *mortal man* can endure *(Honour being above Life)*
"I ſhall begin with the profeſſing of gladneſs in ſome things.
"The firſt is, That hereafter the *greatneſs* of a *Judge*, or *Ma-*
"*giſtrate*, ſhall be no *ſanctuary*, or *protection* to him againſt *guil-*
"*tineſs*, which is the beginning of a *golden work*.
"The next. That after this *Example*, it is like that *Judges*
"will fly from any thing in the likeneſs of *Corruption* (though
"it were at a great diſtance) as from a *Serpent*: Which tends
"to the purging of the *Courts* of *Juſtice*, and reducing them to
"their true *honour*, and *ſplendor*. And in theſe two *Points (God*
"*is my witneſs*) though it be my *fortune* to be the *Anvil* upon
"which theſe two *effects* are broken and wrought, I take no
"ſmall *comfort*. But to paſs from the *motions* of my *heart*,
"*(whereof God is my Judge)* to the *merits* of my *cauſe*, whereof
"your *Lordſhips* are *Judges*, under *God* and his *Lieutenant*; I
"do underſtand, there hath been heretofore expected from
"me ſome *juſtification*; and therefore I have choſen one only
"*juſtification*, inſtead of all others, out of the *juſtification* of
"*Job*. For after the clear *ſubmiſſion* and *confeſſion* which I ſhall
"now make unto your Lordſhips, I hope I may ſay and juſtifie
"with *Job*, in theſe words, *I have not hid my ſin, as did* Adam,
"*nor concealed my faults in my boſom*. This is the only *juſtifi-*
"*cation* which I will uſe.
"It reſteth therefore, that without *Fig-leaves*, I do ingenu-
"ouſly confeſs, and acknowledge, that having underſtood the
"*Particulars* of the *Charge*, not formally from the *Houſe*, but
"enough to inform my *conſcience* and *memory*, I find *matter* ſuffi-
"cient, and full, both to move me to deſert my *defence*, and to
"move your Lordſhips to *condemn* and *cenſure* me. Neither will
"I trouble your Lordſhips, by ſingling thoſe *Particulars*, which
"I think might fall off. *Quid te exempla juvant ſpinis de pluribus*
"*Uva?* Neither will I prompt your Lordſhips to obſerve up-
"on the *proofs*, where they come not home, or the *ſcruple* touch-
"ing the *credits* of the *Witneſſes*. Neither will I repreſent to
"your Lordſhips, how far a *defence* might in divers things ex-
"tenuate the *offence*, in reſpect of the *time*, and manner of the
"*guilt*, or the like *circumſtances*: But only leave theſe things
"to ſpring out of your more noble thoughts, and obſervations
"of the *Evidence*, and examinations themſelves; and *charitably*
"to wind about the *Particulars* of the *Charge*, here and there, as
"God ſhall put into your *minds*, and ſo ſubmit my ſelf wholly to
"your *piety* and *grace*.
"And now I have ſpoken to your Lordſhips as *Judges*, I ſhall
"ſay a few words unto you as *Peers* and *Prelates*, humbly com-
"mending my *Cauſe* to your *noble minds*, and *magnanimous*
"*affections*.
"Your Lordſhips are not ſimply *Judges*, but *Parliamentary*
"*Judges*;

"*Judges*; you have a further *extent* of *Arbitrary Power* than "other *Courts*; and if you be not tied by ordinary course of "*Courts*, or *Precedents* in Points of *strictness* and *severity*, much "less in Points of *mercy* and *mitigation*. And yet if any thing "which I shall move, might be contrary to your *honourable* and "*worthy end* (the introducing a *Reformation*) I should not seek "it; but herein I beseech your Lordships to give me leave to "tell you a *Story*.

"*Titus Manlius* took his Son's life, for giving Battail against "the *prohibition* of his *General*. Not many years after, the like "*severity* was pursued by *Papirius Cursor* the *Dictator*, against "*Quintus Maximus*; who being upon the point to be *sentenced* "was by the intercession of some particular *persons* of the *Se-* "*nate*, spared. Whereupon *Livy* maketh this *grave* and *gracious* "observation, *Neque minùs firmata est Disciplina Militaris, peri-* "*culo* Quinti Maximi, *quàm miserabili supplicio* Titi Manlii; "The *Discipline* of *War* was no less established by the question- "ing of *Quintus Maximus*, than by the punishment of *Titus* "*Manlius*. And the same *reason* is in the *Reformation* of *Justice*: "For the *questioning* of *men* in eminent Places, hath the same "*terrour*, though not the same *rigour* with the *punishment*. But "my *Cause* stays not there: for my humble desire is, that his Ma- "jesty would take the *Seal* into his hands, which is a great "*downfall*, and may serve I hope in it self for an expiation of "my *faults*. Therefore if *mercy* and *mitigation* be in your Lord- "ships power, and no way cross your Ends, why should I not "hope of your *favour* and *commiseration*? Your Lordships will "be pleased to behold your chief *pattern*, the King our Sove- "raign, a King of incomparable *clemency*, and whose *heart* is "inscrutable for *wisdom* and *goodness*. And your Lordships "will remember, there sate not these hundred years before a "*Prince* in your *House*, and never such a *Prince*, whose *pre-* "*sence* deserveth to be made memorable by *Records*, & *Acts*, mixt "of *mercy* and *justice*. Your selves are either *Nobles* (and Com- "passion ever beateth in the veins of *noble blood*) or *Reverend* "*Prelates*, who are the Servants of him that would not break "the *bruised Reed*, nor quench the *smoking Flax*. You all sit upon "a high *Stage*, and therefore cannot but be sensible of the chan- "ges of *humane conditions*, and of the fall of any from high place.

Extortion and Bribery the Vices of the Times.

"Neither will your Lordships forget, that there are *Vitia Tem-* "*poris*, as well as *Vitia Hominis*; and the beginning of *Reforma-* "*tion* hath the contrary power to the *pool* of *Bethesda*; for that "had strength to cure him only that was first cast in, and this "hath strength to hurt him only that is first cast in: And for my "part, I wish it may stay there, and go no further.

"Lastly, I assure my self your Lordships have a noble feeling "of me, as a *Member* of your own *Body*, and one that in this

"very

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"very *Seſſion*, had ſome taſte of your loving *Affections*, which I "hope was not a *lightning* before the *death* of them, but rather "a *ſpark* of that *Grace*, which now in the *Concluſion* will more "appear. And therefore my humble ſute to your Lordſhips is, "That my *penitent ſubmiſſion* may be my *ſentence*, the loſs of "my *Seal* my *puniſhment*, and that your Lordſhips would re- "commend me to his *Majeſtie's Grace* and *Pardon* for all that is "paſt. *God's holy Spirit be among you.*

April 22. 1621. *Your Lordſhips humble ſervant, and ſuppliant,* Fran. *St.* Albans *Can.*

His cenſure.

Thus was his great *ſpirit* brought low, and this *humiliation* might have raiſed him up again, if his *offences* had not been ſo weighty as to keep him down. He loſt his *Peerage* and *Seal*, and the *Scale* was wavering whether he ſhould carry the *Title* of *Viſcount St. Albans* to his *grave*, and that was all he did; having only left a poor empty *being*, which laſted not long with him, his *honor* dying before him. And to heighten his *miſery* the more, many others were cruſhed to pieces by his *fall*; for he had a *vaſt debt* lay upon him, which they were forced to pay; and though he had a *Penſion* allowed him by the King, he wanted to his laſt, living obſcurely in his Lodgings at *Grays-Inn*, where his *loneneſs* and *deſolate condition*, wrought upon his *ingenious*, and therefore then more *melancholy temper*, that he pined away. And had this unhappineſs after all his height of *plenitude*, to be denied Beer to quench his thirſt: For having a ſickly taſte, he did not like the Beer of the houſe, but ſent to Sir *Fulk Grevil*, Lord *Brook*, in neighborhood (now and then) for a bottle of his Beer, and after ſome grumbling, the *Butler* had order to deny him. So *ſordid* was the one, that advanced himſelf to be called Sir *Philip Sidnie*'s friend, and ſo friendleſs was the other, after he had dejected himſelf from what he was.

His deſcription and character.

He was of a *midling ſtature*, his countenance had indented with *Age* before he was old; his *Preſence* grave and comely; of a high-flying and lively *Wit*, ſtriving in ſome things to be rather admired than underſtood, yet ſo quick and eaſie where he would expreſs himſelf, and his *Memory* ſo ſtrong and active, that he appeared the *Maſter* of a large and plenteous *ſtore-houſe* of *Knowledge*, being (as it were) *Nature*'s *Midwife*, ſtripping her *Callow-brood*, and clothing them in new *Attire*. His *Wit* was quick to the laſt; for *Gondemar* meeting him the *Lent* before his *Cenſure*, and hearing of his *Miſcarriages*, thought to pay him with his *Spaniſh Sarcaſms* and *Scoffs*, ſaying, *My Lord, I wiſh you a good Eaſter*; *And you my Lord*, replied the *Chancellor*, *a good Paſs-over*: For he could neither cloſe with his *Engliſh Buffoonry*, nor his *Spaniſh Treaty* (which *Gondemar* knew) though he was ſo wiſe as publickly to oppoſe neither. *In fine, he was a fit Jewel to have beautified, and adorned a flouriſhing Kingdom, if his flaws had not diſgraced the luſtre that ſhould have ſet him off.*

In



William Viscount Say and Seale Mr: of the Court of Wardes etc · Are to be sould by John Hinde

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Parties in Parliament.

In this very time of Parliament, when the King carried all things with a full ſail, the *Pilots* of the Commonwealth had an eye to the dangers that lay in the way; for in both Houſes the King had a ſtrong Party, eſpecially in the Houſe of Lords: All the Courtiers, and moſt of the Biſhops ſteer'd by his Compaſs, and the Princes preſence (who was a conſtant *Member*) did caſt an awe among many of them, yet there were ſome gallant Spirits that aimed at the *publick Liberty* more then their own intereſt. If any thing were ſpoken in the Houſe that did in the leaſt reflect upon the Government, or touch (as the *Courtiers* thought) that *Noli me tangere*, the Prerogative, thoſe that moved in it were ſnapt up by them, though many times they met with ſtout encounters at their own Weapon; among which the Principal were, *Henry* Earl of *Oxford*, *Henry* Earl of *Southampton*, *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Spencer*, and divers others, that ſupported the *Old Engliſh Honour*, and would not let it fall to the ground.

Oxford was of no reputation in his youth, being very debauched and riotous, and having no means, maintained it by ſordid and unworthy ways; for his Father hopeleſs of Heirs, in diſcontent with his Wife, ſquandred away a Princely *Eſtate*, but when ſhe and his great *Fortune* were both gone, he married a young Lady of the ancient family of the *Trenthams*, by whom he had this young Lord, and two Daughters; ſhe having a fortune of her own, and induſtry with it, after her Husband's death married her Daughters into two noble Families; the Earl of *Mountgomery* married the one, and the Lord *Norris*, after Earl of *Berk-ſhire* married the other: And finding her Son hopeleſs, let him run his ſwing till he grew weary of it; and thinking he could not be worſe in other Countries than he had been in his own, ſhe ſent him to travel, to try if change of *Air* would change his *Humour*. He was not abroad in *France* and *Italy* above three years, and the freedoms and extravagancies there (that are able to betray and inſnare the greateſt *modeſties*) put ſuch a Bridle upon his inordinateneſs, that look how much before he was decried for a mean and poor *ſpirit*, ſo much had his noble and gallant comportment there gained, that he came over refined in every eſteem; and ſuch a Valuation was ſet upon his parts and merit, that he married the Lady *Diana Cecil*, Daughter to the Earl of *Exeter*, one of the moſt eminent Beauties and Fortunes of the time.

Southampton, though he were one of the King's Privy Councel, yet was he no great *Courtier*; *Salisbury* kept him at a bay, & pinched him ſo by reaſon of his relation to old *Eſſex*, that he never flouriſhed much in his time, nor was his *ſpirit* (after him) ſo ſmooth ſhod, as to go always the Court pace; but that

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now and then he would make a Carrier that was not very acceptable to them: for he carried his buſineſs cloſely and ſlily, and was rather an Adviſer than an Actor.

Eſſex had ever an honeſt *Heart*, and though *Nature* had not given him *Eloquence*, he had a ſtrong reaſon that did expreſs him better; his Countenance to thoſe that knew him not appeared ſomewhat ſtern, and *ſolemn*, to intimates affable and gentle, to the Females obligingly courteous, and though unfortunate in ſome, yet highly reſpected of moſt, happily to vindicate the *Vertue* of the *Sex*. The King never affected him, whether from the bent of his *Natural* inclination to effeminate faces, or whether from that inſtinct or ſecret *Prediction* that *Divine* fate often imprints in the apprehenſion, whereby he did fore-ſee in him (as it were) a hand raiſed up againſt his *Poſterity*, may be a *Notation*, not a determination: But the King never liked him, nor could he cloſe with the Court.

Warwick, though he had all thoſe excellent indowments of Body and fortune, that gives ſplendor to a glorious *Court*, yet he uſed it but as his *Recreation*; for his Spirit aimed at more publick adventures, planting *Colonies* in the *Weſtern World*, rather than himſelf in the King's favour: his Brother Sir *Henry Rich* (about this time made Baron of *Kenſington*) and he had been in their youths two emulous *Corrivals* in the publick affections, the one's browneſs being accounted a lovely *ſweetneſs* tranſcending moſt men, the other's features and pleaſant *aſpect* equalled the moſt beautiful Women; the younger having all the *Dimenſions* of a Courtier, laid all the *Stock* of his *Fortune* upon that *Soil*, which after ſome years *Patience* came up with increaſe; but the Elder could not ſo ſtoop to obſervances, and thereby became his own Supporter.

Saye and *Seale* was a ſeriouſly ſubtil *Peece*, and always averſe to the Court ways, ſomething out of pertinaciouſneſs; his *Temper* and *Conſtitution* ballancing him altogether on that *Side*, which was contrary to the *Wind*; ſo that he ſeldom tackt about or went upright, though he kept his *Courſe* ſteady in his own way a long time: yet it appeared afterwards, when the harſhneſs of the humour was a little allayed by the ſweet *Refreſhments* of Court favours, that thoſe ſtern *Comportments* ſuppoſed *natural*, might be mitigated, and that indomitable Spirits by gentle uſage may be tamed and brought to obedience.

Spencer (like the old *Roman* choſen *Dictator* from his *Farm*) made the Countrey a vertuous Court, where his Fields and Flocks brought him more calm and happy contentment, than the various and mutable diſpenſations of a Court can contribute: and when he was called to the Senate, was more vigilant to keep the Peoples Liberties from being a prey to the



Robert. Earle of Warwicke.
and Lord Rich of Leeze. etc.



Henry. Earle of Holland.
Baron of Kensington. etc.

Sould by Robt. Peake.

the incroaching power of *Monarchy*, than his harmleſs and tender Lambs from Foxes and ravenous Creatures.

There were many other noble *Patriots* concentrique with theſe, which like Jewels ſhould be preſerved and kept in the Cabinet of every man's memory, being *Ornaments* for *Poſterity* to put on; but their Characters would make the line too long, and the *Bracelet* too big to adorn this Story.

About this time *Spencer* was ſpeaking ſomething in the Houſe that their great Anceſtors did, which diſpleaſed *Arundel*, and he cuts him off ſhort, ſaying, *My Lord, when theſe things you ſpeak of were doing, your Anceſtors were keeping ſheep*, (twitting him with his Flocks which he took delight in:) *Spencer* inſtantly replied, *When my Anceſtors (as you ſay) were keeping ſheep, your Anceſtors were plotting Treaſon.* *Spencer* and *Arundel* quarrel.

This hit *Arundel* home, and it grew to ſome heat in the Houſe, whereupon they were ſeparated, and commanded both out of the Houſe, and the Lords began to conſider of the offence. There was much bandying by the Court-*Party*, to excuſe the Earl of *Arundel*, but the heat and raſh part of it beginning with him, laying ſuch a brand upon a Peer that was nobly deſcended, he could not be juſtified, but was enjoyned by the Houſe to give the Lord *Spencer* ſuch ſatisfaction as they preſcribed; which his Greatneſs refuſing to obey, he was by the *Lords* ſent *Priſoner* to the *Tower*, and *Spencer* re-admitted into the Houſe again. *Arundel* committed.

When *Arundle* was well cooled in the *Tower*, and found that no Power would give him Liberty, but that which had reſtrained him, (rather blaming his raſhneſs, than excuſing his ſtubborneſs) his great Heart humbled it ſelf to the Lords, betwixt a Letter and a Petition in theſe words.

To the Right Honourable, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the Higher Houſe of Parliament aſſembled.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhips,

WHereas I ſtand committed here by your Lordſhips Order, *for having ſtood upon performing ſome part of that which was injoined me by your Lordſhips; which I did rather in reſpect the time was ſhort for advice, than out of any intent to diſobey the Houſe, for which I have ſuffered in this place till now: I do therefore humbly beſeech your Lordſhips to conſtrue of what is paſt, according to this my profeſſion, and for the time to come to believe that I both underſtand ſo well your Lordſhips power to command, and your nobleneſs and tenderneſs to conſider what is fit, as I do, and will wholly put my ſelf upon your* Honors, *and perform what is, or ſhall be injoyned me. So* His Submiſſion.

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beſeeching your Lordſhips to conſtrue theſe lines, as proceeding from a heart ready to obey you in what you command, I reſt

Tower 2 June 1621.

Your Lordſhips moſt humble Servant

Thomas Arundle.

Upon this ſubmiſſion the Lords commanded him to be ſent for, and preſenting himſelf at the Bar of the Houſe, with the accuſtomed Humility that Offenders do, he thus expreſſed himſelf, *Becauſe I have committed a fault againſt this Houſe, in not obeying all the Order that your Lordſhips commanded me, I do here acknowledg this my fault, and ask your Lordſhips pardon for the ſame, and am ready to obey all your Lordſhips commands.*

Thus this great Lord (though he fluttered in the *Air* of the *Court*, and mounted by that means upon the Wings of *Paſſion*) was glad to ſtoop when *conſideration* lured him to it, leſt by the heat that he himſelf made (melting the Waxen Plumes that he thought would have ſupported him) his ſuffering might have been a greater miſchief to him than his ſubmiſſion: ſo ſour and ſevere a School-maſter is *Paſſion*, to be both Author and Puniſher of our *Errors*: yea, making the beſt Natures (often) correct themſelves moſt.

The Parliament adjourned.

The fourth of *June* this year the Parliament had a Receſs, the King being to go his Progreſs, wherein ſome Lords, and others of the Parliament were to attend him: For it ſeems his buſineſs was not yet ripe for the Parliament, and he was loth they ſhould have too much leiſure, therefore they were not to meet again till the eighth of *February* following; which being a long time of Vacancy, the Houſe of Commons before they parted took the *Miſeries* of the *Palatinate* into ſerious debate; and though they felt the King's pulſe, and knew the beat of his thought, when he ſpake of providing an Army this Summer for the recovery of it, and would engage his Crown, Blood, and Soul for it (finding him apt to ſay what he had no will to do) yet they were ſo wiſe as not to ſlacken or draw back in ſo good a work; that if there were a failing, it ſhould not be on their ſide, knowing how much *Religion* was concerned in it (for to the appearance of *Reaſon*, the triumphing Emperor, and Univerſal King, would quickly tread all under foot) therefore with one voice (none daring to oppoſe) they made this *Declaration.*

The Commons Declaration.

THE Commons *aſſembled in* Parliament, *taking into moſt ſerious conſideration the preſent* ſtate *of the* King's Children *abroad, and generally afflicted eſtate of the true* Profeſſors *of the ſame* Chriſtian

Chriſtian Religion, *profeſſed by the* Church *of* England *in* Forreign Parts, *and being touched with a true ſence and fellow-feeling of their diſtreſſes, as* Members *of the ſame* Body, *do with unanimous conſent, in the name of themſelves and the whole* Body *of the* Kingdom (*whom they repreſent*) *declare unto his moſt excellent* Majeſty, *and to the whole* World, *their hearty grief and ſorrow for the ſame; and do not only joyn with them in their humble and* Devout Prayers *unto* Almighty God, *to protect his true* Church, *and to avert the* Dangers *now threatned, but alſo with one heart, and voice do ſolemnly proteſt; That if his* Majeſtie *s pious endeavours by* Treaty, *to procure their* Peace *and* Safety, *ſhall not take that good effect which is deſired in* Treaty, (*wherefore they humbly beſeech his* Majeſty *not to ſuffer any longer delay*) *that then upon ſignification of his* Majeſtie *s pleaſure in* Parliament, *they ſhall be ready to the utmoſt of their* Powers, *both with their lives and fortunes, to aſſiſt him ſo, as that by the Divine* Help of Almighty God (*which is never wanting unto thoſe who in his fear, ſhall undertake the defence of his own* Cauſe) *he may be able to do that with his* Sword, *which by a peaceable Courſe ſhall not be effected.*

The King took this *Declaration* of the *Commons* in very good Part, and meant when occaſion ſerved to make good uſe of it: For as he found them forward enough to begin a War, ſo he knew his own *conſtitution* backward enough (the Sword being in his Hand) and did fore-ſee an advantage ariſing from a *Medium* betwixt the Parliament and him, if he could bring his *Ends* about, which he after put in practice; but it broke all to pieces, and now away he goes on his *Progreſs*.

The King pleaſed with it.

Towards Winter the Lord *Digby* returns from his ſoliciting journey in *Germany*; His firſt addreſſes he made to the *Emperour*, his ſecond to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and his laſt to the *Infanta* at *Bruxels*, and all to as little purpoſe as if he had ſtayed at home; that three-fold Cord, twiſted by the power of *Spain*, was not eaſily to be broken. Some little twilight and ſcintil of Hope, was given him by the *Emperour* for reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, yet not ſo much as would diſcover the error of our eaſie belief: But the *Bavarian* had already ſwallowed the *Electurate*, and his *Voraginous* appetite gaped after the *poſſeſſion* of the Countrey, though the *Engliſh* there were bones in his way.

Digby being arrived at *Court*, and bringing him with doubtful anſwers from the *Emperour*, and ſullen ones from the *Duke* of *Bavaria*, the King thought it good *Policy* to ſhorten the long Receſs till *February*, and to re-aſſemble the Parliament the 20*th* of *November*, that meeting before their *Time*, it might more amaze them, and intimate ſome extraordinary Cauſe, which happily might produce ſome extraordinary effect if well manag'd. And as incident thereunto, he gave order to *Digby* as ſoon

Digbi's return.

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His Relation to the Parliament

soon as the Parliament assembled, to make relation to the *Houses* of his proceedings there, which he did in these words:

IT pleased his Majesty to command me to give you an account of my last Foreign Negotiation *with the* Emperour; *who (you know) being much exasperated with the invasion of* Bohemia *(to which the* King *never gave incouragement in the attempt, nor countenance in the* Prosecution*) hath upon the advantage of his* fortunate *success there, invaded into the inheritance of his Son the* Palatine: *Whereupon I was directed by his* Majestie's Commission *to treat if* Peace *might be compassed with fair endeavours, to which the* Emperour *seemed very inclinable.* Albeit, *slow in giving* Audience, *by reason that the* Diet *in* Germany *was deferred, and he depended upon some answer from the* Princes. *But in conclusion, I received such satisfaction, as promised* Restitution *of the* Palatinate, *which only was granted by* Commission *to the* Duke *of* Bavaria, *until it was setled by absolute* Peace, *or further* War. *And being addressed by the* Emperour *with* Letters *to the* Duke *of* Bavaria, *wherein he wished his tractable condescent to all good* Terms *of* Peace; *Upon which occasion I urged, that I had* Authority *from the* Count Palatine, *to cause the* Count Mansfield *to desist from* War, *and likewise from the* King *to his Body of War under the Government of Sir* Horatio Vere. *The Duke of* Bavaria *replied, That he had becalmed* Mansfield *with great sums of money, and when he is quiet, my* Peace *is made. To which scornful and slight reply something I answered, and departed to the* Infanta *to* Bruxels, *who seemed to understand by the* Emperour's Letters, *that he did rather prepare for* War *then* Peace, *and would give no direct answer till she heard from the* King *of* Spain, *who I must ingenuously confess, hath stood clear a* Neutral, *according to his promise: Yet is he now so strong prepared for* War *(having at this instant five great Armies in* motion*) that it will not mis-become the wisdom of the* State *to fear the worst: And to conclude, such hath been the care of the* King *for his own* Honour, *and Son's* Right, *that he presumes you will cheerfully apply your selves to the necessity of the* Times, *and this occasion; and not only afford him aid for his present support, but such further supply as may help to re-invest his* Son *into his inheritance.*

Seconded.

Which *Relation* of *Digbie's* being seconded by some of the King's great *Minister* of *State*, (who had instructions suitable to their *Errand*) they let the Parliament know, how justly and necessary it was, and how forward the King would be to accompliſh that by War, which he could not recover by *Peace*; and they set it off with all the slippery *Oratory* they could to draw in money; for that being the main *ingredient*, if that were provided, the rest of the *simples* would easily be purchased, to make up the *Composition*.

Thus

Thus the Kings ſuits and intreaties were ſlighted, and diſregarded abroad; and his intentions ſuſpected, and feared at home. *Princes* that do graſp *Poſſeſſions* with iron hands, will not be ſmoothed out of them by fair words; the Sword, as it is the beſt determiner, ſo it is the moſt honourable Treater: And though the King incited the *Parliament* by theſe his *Miniſters* to contribute towards a War, yet they found his inclination bent towards *Peace*, both in reſpect of *Gondemar*'s power with him (upon whoſe ſandy promiſes he built a good *Foundation* of *Hope*) and in regard of ſome Letters which the King had lately written to the King of *Spain*, wherein great indulgencies were promiſed to the Papiſts, whereby they ſaw he was too much tranſported with a deſire to the *Match*: And the King, finding *Digbie*'s indeavours fruitleſs in *Germany*, intended to ſend him into *Spain*, extraordinary Ambaſſador to that King whom he looked upon as the great *Wheel* that moved the others which way he pleaſed. For he was reſolved to cloſe ſome way with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, either by Marriage or intreaty, to peece and make up the *Breach* the War had made. But the King had to do with cunning *Gameſters* that ſmiled to ſee how earneſt he was at it, for they had the ſign given out of his hand, and ſaw all the *Game* he played, ſo faithleſs was the Councel about him!

The King prevails not abroad nor at home.

The *Engliſh* in general, except *Papiſts*, were averſe to this *Match*, as boding ſome evil event, becauſe the *Papiſts* did prune themſelves, flutter up and down, and ſpread their *Trains* ſo publickly: This almoſt univerſal averſation of the people had a *natural* influence upon the *Repreſentative*, the *Parliament*; who conſidering that the King (by *Digby* and others) did inform them how *formidable* the King of *Spain* was, and did require them to apply themſelves to the neceſſity of the Times, and further him with help to re-inveſt his Son in his *Inheritance*, thought there was no better means to be uſed than to try effectually the King's *Spirit*, and ſtir him up to a war; for ſo they ſhould know which way their Money went, at leaſtwiſe his mind, before they tamely parted with it. And therefore (like wiſe *Phyſicians* that never preſcribe letting blood, but when it tends to the health of the *Body*) firſt they ſhew the *Cauſes* of the *Diſtempers* and *Evils* that were to be feared. Secondly, what effects they were likely to produce. And laſtly, the *Remedies* to prevent them, in this *Petition* and *Remonſtrance*.

The People and Parliament againſt the Match.

Moſt Gracious and dread Soveraign,

A Remonſtrance of the Houſe of Commons.

WE *your Majeſtie's moſt humble and loyal Subjects; the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, now aſſembled in Parliament, who repreſent the Commons of your Realm, full of hearty ſorrow*

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sorrow to be deprived of the Comfort of your Royal Presence, the rather for that it proceeds from the want of your health, wherein We all unfainedly do suffer. In all humble manner calling to mind your gracious answer to our former Petition concerning Religion, which notwithstanding your Majesties pious and princely intentions, hath not produced that good effect, which the danger of these Times doth seem to us to require. And finding how ill your Majesties goodness hath been requited by Princes of different Religion, who even in time of Treaty, have taken opportunity to advance their own Ends, tending to the Subversion of Religion, and disadvantage of your affairs, and the Estate of your Children. By reason whereof your ill-affected Subjects at home, the Popish Recusants, have taken too much incouragement, and are dangerously increased in their Number, and in their insolencies. We cannot but be sensible thereof; And thereof humbly represent what we conceive to be the Causes of so great and growing Mischiefs, and what be the Remedies.

1. The Vigilancy and Ambition of the Pope of Rome, and his deareſt Son, the one aiming at as large a Temporal Monarchy, as the other at a Spiritual Supremacy.

2. The Devillish Positions, and Doctrines, whereon Popery is built, and taught, with authority to their Followers, for advancement of their Temporal Ends.

3. The distressed, and miserable Estate of the Professors of true Religion in Foreign parts.

4. The disastrous Accidents to your Majesties Children abroad, expressed with rejoycing, and even with contempt of their Persons.

5. The strange Confederacy of the Princes of the Popish Religion, aiming mainly at the advancement of theirs, and subverting Ours, and taking the advantages conducing to that End, upon all Occasions.

6 The great and many Armies raised and maintained at the charge of the King of Spain, the chief of that League.

7. The expectation of the Popish Recusants of the Match with Spain, and feeding themselves with great hopes of the consequences thereof.

8. The interposing of Foreign Princes, and their Agents in the behalf of Popish Recusants, for connivence and favour unto them.

9. Their open and usual Resort to the Houses, and which is worse, to the Chappels of Foreign Ambassadors.

10. Their more than usual concourse to the City, and their frequent Conventicles, and Conferences there.

11. The education of their Children, in many several Seminaries, and Houses of their Religion, in Foreign parts, appropriated only to the English Fugitives.

12. The

12. *The Grants of their just forfeitures intended by your Majesty as a reward of* service *to the* Grantees, *but beyond your Majesties intention, transferred or compounded for at such mean rates as will amount to little less than a Toleration.*

13. *The licentious printing and dispersing of* Popish *and* seditious Books, *even in the time of* Parliament.

14. *The* Swarms *of* Priests *and* Jesuits, *the common Incendiaries of all* Christendom, *dispersed in all parts of your Kingdom.*

And from these *Causes* as bitter Roots, we humbly offer to your *Majesty*, that we foresee, and fear there will necessarily follow very dangerous effects both to *Church* and *State*. For,

1. *The* Popish Religion *is incompatible with* Ours *in respect of their* Positions.

2. *It draweth with it an unavoidable* Dependency *on foreign* Princes.

3. *It openeth too wide a* Gap *for* Popularity, *to any who shall draw too great a* Party.

4. *It hath a restless* Spirit, *and will strive by these* Gradations; *if it once get but a Connivence, it will press for a Toleration; if that should be obtained, they must have an equality; from thence they will aspire to* Superiority: *And will never rest till they get a* Subversion *of the true* Religion.

The *Remedies* against these growing *Evils*, which in all *humbleness* we offer to your most excellent *Majesty*, are these,

1. *That seeing this inevitable* Necessity *is faln upon your* Majesty, *which no* wisdom *or* providence *of a peaceable and* pious *King, can avoid, your* Majesty *would not omit this just* occasion, *speedily and effectually to take your Sword into your hand.*

2. *That once undertaken upon so Honourable and just grounds, your* Majesty *would resolve to persue, and more publickly avow the aiding of those of our* Religion *in foreign parts, which doubtless would reunite the* Princes *and* States *of the* Union, *by these disasters disheartned and disbanded.*

3. *That* your Majesty *would propose to your self to manage this War with the best advantage, by a* Diversion *or otherwise, as in your deep* judgment *shall be found fittest, and not to rest upon a War in these parts only, which will consume your Treasure, and discourage your people.*

4. *That the bent of this War, and point of your Sword may be against that* Prince *(whatsoever* Opinion *of* Potency *he hath) whose* Armies *and* Treasures, *have first diverted, and since maintained the War in the* Palatinate.

5. *That for securing of our peace at home, your Majesty will be pleased to review the parts of our* Petition *formerly delivered unto your Majesty, and hereunto annexed, and to put in execution by the care of choice* Commissioners, *to be thereunto especially appointed, the* Laws *already, and hereafter to be made for preventing of*

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Dangers *by* Popish Recusants, *and their wonted evasions.*

6. *That to frustrate their hopes for a future* Age, *our most Noble* Prince *may be timely and happily married to one of our own* Religion.

7. *That the* Children *of the* Nobility *and* Gentry *of this Kingdom, and of others ill affected, and suspected in their* Religion, *now beyond the Seas, may be forthwith called home by your* means, *and at the charge of their* Parents *or* Governours.

8. *That the* Children *of* Popish Recusants, *or such whose wives are Popish Recusants, be brought up during their* minority *with* Protestant Schoolmasters, *and Teachers, who may sow in their tender years the seeds of true* Religion.

9. *That your* Majesty *will be pleased speedily to revoke all former Licences, for such Children and youth to travel beyond the* Seas, *and not grant any such licence hereafter.*

10. *That your Majesties learned* Councel *may receive commandment from your* Highness, *carefully to look into former* Grants *of* Recusants *lands, and to avoid them if by Law they can; and that your* Majesty *will stay your hand from passing any such* Grants *hereafter.*

This is the sum and effect of our *Humble Declaration*, which we (no ways intending to press upon your *Majesties* undoubted and *Regal Prerogative*) do with the fulness of our *Duty*, and *Obedience*, humbly submit to your most *Princely consideration*, the *Glory of God*, whose *Cause* it is, the *Zeal* of our true *Religion*, in which we have been born, and wherein (by *God's grace*) we are resolved to die, the safety of your *Majesties* person, who is the very life of *your people*, the happiness of your *Children* and *Posterity*, the *Honour* and good of the *Church* and *State* dearer unto us then our own lives, having kindled these *Affections*, truly devoted to your *Majesty*.

And seeing out of our *Duty* to your *Majesty*, we have already resolved to give at the end of this *Session* one entire *Subsidy*, for the present relief of the *Palatinate* only, to be paid in the end of *February* next, which cannot well be effected but by passing a Bill in a *Parliamentary course* before *Christmas*; We most humbly beseech your *Majesty* (as our assured *hope* is) that you will then also vouchsafe to give life by your Royal assent, to such *Bills* as before that time shall be prepared for your *Majesties Honour*, and the general good of your *People*. And that such Bills may be also accompanied (as hath been accustomed) with your *Majestie's* gracious *Pardon*, which proceeding from your own meer *Grace*, may by your *Highness direction* be drawn to that *latitude*, and extent, as may best sort with your *Majesties Bounty* and *Goodness*. And that not only *Fellons*, and criminal offenders may take *benefit* thereof, but that your good *Subjects* may receive ease thereby. And if it shall so

stand

ſtand with your good pleaſure, that it may extend to the relief of the old *Debts* and *Duties* to the *Crown*, before the firſt year of your *Majeſties* raign, to the diſcharge of *Alienations* without licence, and miſuſing of *Liveries* and *Ouſtre le main* before the firſt *ſummons* of this *Parliament*; and of concealed *Wardſhips*, and not ſuing of *Liveries* and *Ouſtre le mains*, before the twelfth year of your Majeſties *Reign*. Which gracious favour would much comfort your good *Subjects*, and eaſe them from *Vexation*, with little loſs or prejudice to your own profit.

And we by our daily and devout prayers to the *Almighty*, the great King of Kings, ſhall contend for a bleſſing upon our endeavours, and for your *Majeſties* long and happy Reign over Us, *And for your Childrens children after you for many and many Generations.*

The King hearing that the Houſe of Commons were hammering upon this *Remonſtrance*, went to *Newmarket*, a cold and bleak *Air*, in as cold and bleak a *ſeaſon*, pretending his Health, but indeed to be further from the ſound of that noiſe (which perpetually poſſeſſed his Ears) of the diſcontent of the *Commons* for the intended *Match* with *Spain*. And as the Buſineſs grew up, he had intimation of it from his *creatures* in the *Houſe*; for it *vext his Popiſh Secretary*, Sir *George Calvert*, *Weſton*, and others to find the *Houſe* ſo bitter againſt their *Profeſſion*, (though they were cunning *Underminers*, and put on a ſmooth face there) yet they aggravated the *matter* to the King with all the *Acrimony* they could, ſo far as to reflect upon particular *perſons*, that were the moſt *Active* inſtruments in it.

The King vext at it.

And what is there in this *Remonſtrance* (at ſuch a time when the *Proteſtant Religion* was in danger of being extirpated) that put on ſo horrid a *Vizard* as to affright or exaſperate the King? The Emperor had prevailed in *Germany*, the *Proteſtant Princes* either *ſubdued*, or acquieſced, and laid down their *necks* to the *Yoak*. The *Proteſtants* were perſecuted in *France*, beſieged and ruined by the youthful *fury* of *Lewis* the 13. And notwithſtanding *Our King's ſolicitations* by Sir *Edward Herbert*, ſince Baron of *Cherbery*, his Reſident *Ambaſſador* there, who (after his *conflict* with *Luynes* the youthful *Conſtable* of *France*, and Favourite to that King) being ſent for home, the *Viſcount Doncaſter* was ſent again into *France*, upon one of his *mediating* imployments, who alſo followed that King from *Camp* to *City*, and from *City* to *Camp*, with as little ſucceſs, this being no journey of *Bravery*, for it almoſt coſt him his life there by a tedious ſickneſs.

The Proteſtant Religion in danger.

Rochel and *Montabun* were beſieged at one time this very year, *Rochel* by the *Count* of *Soiſſons*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*,

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and *Montaban* by the King, a great diſtance one from another; but *Doncaſter* could prevail for neither, yet the *French* King did not do his work. When man hath vented all his malice, he can go no further than the line God hath ſet him. *One ſad ſtory* intervenes which had a various Countenance, mixt with Bravery and Baſeneſs, ſo that it was doubtful which was moſt prevalent. One *Hicks* an *Engliſh-man* undertook to carry a Letter from *Rochel* to *Montaban*, through both Armies, to let them know the good State and Condition of the *Rochellers* were in (maugre the fury and violence of their Enemies) that thoſe of *Montaban* might be encouraged to hold out againſt the King's aſſaults. *Hicks* makes a clear paſſage through the Army before *Rochell*, and came to *Thoulouſe*, where the Viſcount *Doncaſter* was, there he conſorted with the *Engliſh*, inſinuating with a young *Gentlemen*, one *Fairfax*, of that noble Family in *York-ſhire*, who was for that journey one of the Lord Ambaſſador's Train, and *Hicks* finding him willing (being a young and gallant *Spirit*) to ſee the Kings Leagure at *Montaban*, they rode thither together, and under the *notion* of being of the Ambaſſador's retinue, they had free admittance to view all the Works, and Avenues. *Hicks* whoſe eye was fixt upon his opportunity to fly into the Town, made uſe of *Fairfax* to take his advantage with the leaſt *Suſpicion*, and in the inſtant of time, puts Spurs to his Horſe, and got into the Town through a Shower of Bullets, leaving *Fairfax* (aſtoniſh'd at the attempt) to be wrackt and tormented to death (as he was by the *French* fury) to confeſs what he never knew; ſo that *Hicks* his Bravery deſerves a Brand of Infamy, and *Fairfax* his Innocency a memorial of *pity*. A noble Spirit muſt not dare to do a gallant action an unworthy way.

Hicks and *Fairfax*.

Our King a King of Peace.

But our King's intentions aiming at Peace, he took as he thought the beſt way to it, which was, to intreat for it: But that would not prevail, for the voice of intreaty cannot be heard for the Trumpet. In War, one noiſe muſt expel another. The Parliament ſaw the danger the Proteſtant Religion was in (*For in many Counceſſors there is wiſdom*) and thought it their duties to let the King ſee how inclinable they were to ſupport the falling Condition of it with their lives and fortunes; But the King would be called *Rex Pacificus* to the laſt; His Heart was not advanced to glorious Atchievements, God will not (many times) make uſe of ſome men to do great things by them. The Parliament did not deſire to make this a War for Religion only, though they ſaw it ſuppreſſed; for ſo all *Popiſh Princes* (which was the King's fear) might have combined againſt him: But though the true end was Religion, the outward aim was to hinder the Progreſs of the victorious *Spaniſh* Power, which was likelieſt to do moſt miſchief. Many times the



To Frankenthal when seige Cordoua layde
Soe was our Britishe King-craft ouerknau'd
By Gondomer as in it Martir-made
This honorable Cadet; and soe stau'd
Of all recreuts, that Burroughs there comander
Our glorious Burroughs was compell'd to render.



the Divine Goodneſs puts an opportunity, as a price into *Mens* hands, which if they fail to make uſe of, redounds to their *Prejudice*. If the King's ſpirit had been raiſed up to a War, when the voice of God (the voice of the people) called him to it, happily it might have hindred the great *Effuſion* of *Blood* amongſt our *Selves*, that happened after in his Son's time: But he was not the Man, the Work was reſerved for *Guſtavus*, not *Jacobus*; and theſe Conflicts of our Kings formerly, and at this time with his people (alienating their affections) did not only leave ſad impreſſions upon their *Spirits*, of rancour, and malice againſt *Monarchy*, but taught his *Succeſſor* the *Pattern* of breaking *Parliaments*, and conteſting with his Subjects, till ruin ſucceeded to him and his *Poſterity*.

But when this Remonſtrance was brought to perfection, the King had a Copy of it before the Houſe had time to ſend their *Meſſengers* with it; in which, ſomething ſo highly diſpleaſed him, that he inſtantly diſpatched a Letter to the *Speaker* of the Houſe of Commons to forbid the ſending of it.

To Our Truſty and Wellbeloved, Sir Thomas Richardſon *Knight, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.*

Mr. Speaker,

The King's Letter to the Speaker.

WE have heard by divers Reports, *to our great grief, that* Our *diſtance from the* Houſes *of* Parliament (*cauſed by* Our *indiſpoſition of health*,) *hath imboldned ſome fiery and* Popular Spirits *of ſome of the Houſe of* Commons, *to argue and* debate *publickly of* Matters *far above their reach and capacity, tending to Our high diſhonour, and breach of* Prerogative Royal. *Theſe are therefore to command you to make known in* Our Name *unto the* Houſe, *that none therein ſhall preſume henceforth to meddle with any thing concerning* Our Government, *or deep* Matters *of* State, *and namely not to deal with our deareſt* Son's Match *with the Daughter of* Spain, *nor to touch the* Honour *of that King, or any other our* Friends *or* Confederates. *And alſo not to meddle with any mans particulars, which have their due* motion *in our ordinary* Courts *of* Juſtice. *And whereas we hear they have ſent a* Meſſage *to Sir* Edwin Sandis, *to know the* Reaſons *of his late reſtraint, you ſhall in* Our Name *reſolve them, that it was not for any miſdemeanor of his in* Parliament; *But to put them out of doubt of any queſtion of that Nature, that may ariſe among them hereafter, you ſhall reſolve them in* Our Name, *That* We *think* Our ſelf *very free and able to puniſh any man's miſdemeanors in* Parliament, *as well during their ſitting as after: which we mean not to ſpare hereafter upon any occaſion of any* man's *inſolent* Behaviour *there, that ſhall be miniſtred unto* Us. *And if they have already touched any of theſe points, which* We *have here forbidden in any* Petition *of theirs, which is to be*

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be ſent unto Us, *it is our pleaſure that you ſhall tell them, that except they reform it before it come to our hands,* We *will not deign the hearing nor anſwering of it.* This was the effect of the Letter.

Dated at *Newmarket*,
Decem. 3. 1621.

When the *Houſe* had duly and weightily conſidered the juſt *Reaſons* they had to draw up this *Remonſtrance*, in diſcharge of their *Conſciences* and duties to *God*, and the King, and found how fruitleſs their labours were. Having (as it were) caſt out one *Anchor* in a tempeſtuous *ſeaſon* which would take no hold, they were forced to caſt out another, that both together might better faſten on the King's good affections: Therefore they framed this following *Petition*, and ſent the *Remonſtrance* with it, hoping yet to ſave the beaten *Bark* of the *Common-wealth* from ruin in ſo great a time of danger. And thus they addreſs themſelves to their great *Pilot*.

The Parliaments Petition.

Moſt dread and gracious Soveraign,

WE *your moſt humble and loyal* Subjects, *the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes aſſembled in the* Commons Houſe *of* Parliament, *full of grief and unſpeakable ſorrow, through the true ſence of your Majeſties diſpleaſure expreſſed by your Letter lately ſent to Our* Speaker, *and by him related and read unto* Us; *Yet comforted again with the aſſurance of your* Grace *and* Goodneſs, *and of the ſincerity of our own intentions and proceedings, whereon with confidence we can rely, in all humbleneſs beſeech your moſt excellent* Majeſty, *that the* Loyalty *and* Dutifulneſs *of as faithful and loving* Subjects *as ever ſerved or lived under a gracious* Soveraign, *may not undeſervedly ſuffer, by the miſ-information of partial and uncertain* Reports, *which are ever unfaithful* Intelligencers: *but that your* Majeſty *would in the clearneſs of your own* Judgment, *firſt vouchſafe to underſtand from* Our ſelves, *and not from others, what our humble* Declaration *and* Petition *(reſolved upon by the Univerſal Voice of the* Houſe, *and propoſed with your* Gracious *favour to be preſented unto your* Sacred Majeſty) *doth contain. Upon what* Occaſion *we entred into* Conſideration *of thoſe things which are therein contained, with what dutiful reſpect to your Majeſty, and your Service, we did conſider thereof, and what was our true intention thereby. And that when your* Majeſty *ſhall thereby truly diſcern our dutiful* Affections, *you will in your* Royal *judgment free us from thoſe heavy* Charges *wherewith ſome of our* Members *are burthened, and wherein the whole* Houſe *is involved.*

And we humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that you will not hereafter give Credit *to private* Reports *againſt all, or any of the Members of our* Houſe, *whom the whole have not* cenſured, *until your* Majeſty *have been truly informed thereof from our ſelves, and that in the mean time,*

time, and ever, we may ſtand upright in your Majeſties Grace and good Opinion, than which no worldly conſideration is, or can be dearer unto us.

When your Majeſty had reaſſembled us in Parliament, by your Royal Commandment, ſooner than we expected, and did vouchſafe by the mouths of three honourable Lords, to impart unto us the weighty occaſions moving your Majeſty thereunto; And from them we did underſtand theſe particulars.

That notwithſtanding your Princely and Pious indeavours to procure Peace, the time is now come that Janus Temple muſt be opened.

That the Voice of Bellona muſt be heard, and not the Voice of the Turtle.

That there was no hope of Peace, nor any Truce to be obtained, no, not for a few days.

That your Majeſty muſt either abandon your own Children, or ingage your ſelf in a war, wherein Conſideration is to be had, what foot, what horſe, what money would be ſufficient.

That the Lower Palatinate was ſeized upon by the Army of the King of Spain, as Executor of the Ban there, in quality of Duke of Burgundy, as the Upper Palatinate was by the Duke of Bavaria.

That the King of Spain at his own Charge had now at leaſt five ſeveral Armies on foot.

That the Princes of the Union were diſbanded, but the Catholick league remained firm, whereby thoſe Princes ſo diſſevered, were in danger one by one to be ruined.

That the Eſtate of thoſe of the Religion in Foreign parts was miſerable. And,

That out of theſe Conſiderations we were called to a war, and forthwith to adviſe for a Supply, for keeping the forces in the Palatinate from diſbanding, and to fore-ſee the means for raiſing and maintaining the body of an Army for the war againſt the Spring. We therefore out of our Zeal to your Majeſty and your Poſterity, with more alacrity, and celerity, than ever was precedented in Parliament, did addreſs our ſelves to the Service commended unto Us. And although we cannot conceive, that the honor and ſafety of your Majeſty, and your poſterity, the patrimony of your Children, invaded and poſſeſſed by their Enemies, the welfare of Religion, and State of your Kingdoms, are matters at any time unfit for our deepeſt conſideration in time of Parliament. And though before this time we were in ſome of theſe points ſilent, yet being now invited thereunto, and led on by ſo juſt an occaſion, we thought it Our Duties to provide for the preſent ſupply thereof, and not only to turn our eyes on a war abroad, but to take care for the ſecuring of our peace at home, which the dangerous increaſe, and inſolency of Popiſh Recuſants, apparently, viſibly, and ſenſibly did lead us unto. The conſideration whereof

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whereof did necessarily draw us truly to represent unto your Majesty what we conceive *to be the* Causes, *what we feared would be the effects, and what we hoped might be the remedies of these growing* Evils. *Among which, as incident and unavoidable, we fell upon some things which seem to touch upon the* King *of* Spain, *as they have relation to* Popish Recusants *at home, to the Wars by him maintained in the* Palatinate *against your* Majestie's Children, *and to his several* Armies *now on foot; yet as we conceived without touch of* dishonour *to that King, or any other* Prince *your* Majestie's Confederate.

An humble Parliament.

In the discourse whereof we did not assume to our selves *any power to determin of any part thereof, nor intend to incroach or intrude upon the* Sacred bounds of your Royal Authority, *to whom, and to whom only, we acknowledg it doth belong to resolve of* Peace *and* War, *and of the* Marriage *of the most noble* Prince *your* Son. *But as your most* Loyal *and humble* Subjects, *and* Servants, *representing the whole* Commons *of your* Kingdom *(who have a large interest in the happy and prosperous estate of your* Majesty, *and your* Royal Posterity, *and of the flourishing* Estate *of our* Church *and* Common-wealth*) did resolve out of our Cares and Fears, truly and plainly to demonstrate these things to your* Majesty, *which we were not assured could otherwise come so fully and clearly to your knowledg, and that being done, to lay the same down at your Majesties* feet, *without expectation of any other answer of your Majesty touching these higher points, than what at your good pleasure, and in your own time should be held fit.*

This being the effect of that we had formerly resolved upon, and these the occasions and reasons inducing the same, our humble suit to your Majesty, *and confidence is, that your* Majesty *will be graciously pleased to receive at the hands of these our* Messengers *our former humble* Declaration, *and* Petition, *and to vouchsafe to read, and favourably to interpret the same. And that to so much thereof, as containeth our humble* Petition *concerning* Jesuits, Priests, *and* Popish Recusants, *the passage of* Bills, *and granting your* Royal Pardon, *you will vouchsafe an answer unto us.*

And whereas your Majesty *by the general words of your Letter seemeth to restrain us from intermedling with matters of* Government, *or* particulars *which have their* motion *in the* Courts *of* Justice; *the generality of which words in the largeness of the extent thereof, (as we hope beyond your* Majesties *intention) might involve those things, which are the proper* Subjects *of* Parliamentary *occasions and discourse.*

And whereas your Majesty *doth seem to abridge us of the ancient* liberty *of* Parliament *for freedom of* Speech, Jurisdiction, *and just* Censure *of the House, and other proceedings there (wherein we trust in God we shall never transgress the* bounds *of* loyal *and* dutiful Subjects) *a liberty which we assure our selves so wise and so*

just

juſt a King *will not infringe, the ſame being our ancient and undoubted right, and an inheritance received from our* Anceſtors *without which we cannot freely debate, nor clearly diſcern of things in* Queſtion *before us, nor truly inform your* Majeſty; *in which we have been confirmed by your Majeſties moſt gracious former Speeches and Meſſages: We are therefore now again inforced in all humbleneſs to pray your Majeſty to allow the ſame, and thereby to take away the* doubts *and* ſcruples *your Majeſties late Letter to your* Speaker *hath brought upon us.*

So ſhall we your Loyal *and loving* Subjects *ever acknowledge your Majeſties* juſtice, grace *and* goodneſs, *and be ready to perform that ſervice to your Majeſty, which in the true affection of our hearts we profeſs, and powre out our dayly and devout* prayers *to the* Almighty *for your Majeſties long life, happy and religious Reign, and proſperous* Eſtate, *and for your* Royal poſterity after you for ever. And a Pious.

The *Parliament* thought it ſtrange that the King in a *Receſs* ſhould call them together before the appointed time of meeting, pretending *Emergent occaſions*, and (by his *Miniſters* of *State*) perſuade and incite to a War, and when (in obedience to this command) they ſhall proceed in their advice, only to prevent the dangers abroad, and eſtabliſh *ſecurity* at home, they ſhall be accounted preſumptuous and inſolent. But by this they diſcover, (and which the King plainly expreſſes in his Anſwer) that he required none of their advice, he wanted only their *money*, if they had furniſhed him with that inſtead of *Counſel*, it would have been a golden *Remonſtrance*. They are to be his *Bank*, his *Merchants*, he needs no other directions; let them find money, he knows how to diſpoſe of it. This was the great fault, which this *Petition* ſtrives to *mitigate*, accompanied with the Remonſtrance it ſelf, and the *Petition* againſt *Recuſancy*, for both which it was an interceſſor, but it could not with all its Humility procure acceptance for its *Companions*, though ſent by twelve ſelect *Members* of the *Houſe*, and the leading *man* Sir *Richard Weſton* (who was really the King's) choſen by the *Commons* to make their *Petitions* the more acceptable. And the Houſe finding it a great diſcouragement to them to proceed in any buſineſs, when there was ſo great a diſtance betwixt the *King* and them, (the *King* thinking their *actions* an intrenchment upon his *Prerogative*, and they thinking the King's expreſſions an infringement of their Liberties) they reſolved to give over all buſineſs, till they had an Anſwer of their *Petitions*; for they thought they had as good do nothing, as have that they do undone again. Which the *King* hearing of was *vexed* at the *heart*, and entertained their *Meſſengers* very roughly; and ſome ſay he called for twelve *Chaires* The King wanted money, not advice.

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for them, saying, Here are twelve *Kings* come to me. But after he had considered their desires in their last *Petition* (rejecting the others) he returns them this answer to all.

The King's Answer.

WE *must here begin in the same fashion that we would have done, if your first* Petition *had come to our Hands, before we had made a stay thereof, which is to repeat the first words of the late* Queen *of famous* memory, *used by her in answer to an insolent* Proposition, *made by a* Polonian Embassadonr *unto her, that is,* Legatum expectabamus, Heraldum accipimus. *For we had great* reason *to expect that the first* Message *from your House should have been a* Message *of thanksgiving for* Our *continued* gratious behaviour *towards our* People *since your last* Recess. *Not only by our* Proclamation *of* Grace, *wherein were contained six or seven and thirty* Articles, *all of several points of* Grace *to the people, but also by the labour we took for the* satisfaction *of both* Houses *in those three* Articles *recommended unto* Us *in both their names by the right* Reverend *Father in* God *the* Archbishop *of* Canterbury, *and likewise for the good Government of* Ireland *we are now in hand with at your request. But not only have* We *heard no news of all this, but contrary, great complaints of the* Danger *of* Religion *within this Kingdom, tacitly implying* Our *ill Government in this point. And we leave you to judge, whether it be your* Duties, *that are the* Representative Body *of* Our People, *so to distaste them with* Our Government, *whereas by the contrary, it is your* Duty *with all your indeavours to kindle more and more a dutiful and thankful* Love *in the peoples* hearts *towards us for our just and gracious Government.*

Now whereas in the very beginning of this your Apology, *you tax* Us *in fair terms of trusting uncertain* Reports, *and partial informations concerning your* Proceedings; *We wish you to remember that we are an* old *and experienced* King, *needing no such lessons, being in our conscience, freest of any King alive from hearing or trusting idle* Reports, *which so many of your House as are nearest* Us, *can bear witness unto you, if you would give as good ear to them, as you do to some* Tribunitial Orators *among you. And for proof in this particular: We have made your own* Messengers *confer your other* Petitions *sent by you with the* Copy *thereof, which was sent* Us *before, between which there is no difference at all, but that since our receiving the first* Copy, *you added a* Conclusion *unto it, which could not come to our hands, till it was done by you, and your* Messengers *sent, which was all at one time. And if we had had no* Copy *of it before hand, we must have received your first* Petition *to our great* dishonour, *before we had known what it contained, which would have inforced us to have returned you a far worse answer than now* we *do. For then your* Messengers *had returned with* nothing, *but that* We *have judged your* Petition *unlawful and unworthy of an answer:*

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For as to your Concluſion *thereof, it is nothing but* Proteſtatio contraria facto, *for in the body of your* Petition *you uſurp upon* Our *Prerogative* Royal, *and meddle with things far above your reach, and then in the* Concluſion *you proteſt the contrary; as if a* Robber *would take a mans purſe, and then proteſt he meant not to rob him. For firſt you preſume to give* Us *your advice concerning the* Match *of* Our *deareſt* Son *with ſome* Proteſtant, *we cannot ſay* Princes, *for we know none of theſe fit for him, and diſſuade us from his* Match *with* Spain, *urging us to a preſent* War *with that* King, *and yet in the* concluſion, *forſooth, ye proteſt ye intend not to preſs upon our moſt undoubted and* Regal Prerogative; *as if the* petitioning *of* Us *in* matters *that your ſelves confeſs ye ought not to meddle with, were not a medling with them.*

And whereas ye pretend that ye were invited to this courſe by the Speeches *of three honourable* Lords, *ye t by ſo much as your ſelves repeat of the* Speeches, *nothing can be concluded but that* We *were reſolved by* War *to regain the* Palatinate, *if otherwiſe* We *could not attain unto it. And you were invited to adviſe forthwith upon a* Supply *for keeping the* Forces *in the* Palatinate *from disbanding, and to fore-ſee the means for the raiſing and maintaining of the* Body *of an* Army *for that War againſt the* Spring. *Now what inference can be made upon this? That therefore we muſt preſently denounce War againſt the* King of Spain, *break our deareſt Son's* Match, *and* Match *him to one of* Our Religion, Let the world judge! *The difference is no greater, than if we would tell a* Merchant *that* We *had great* need *to borrow* money *from him for raiſing an* Army, *that thereupon it ſhould follow, that* We *were bound to follow his advice in the* Directions *of the* War, *and all things depending thereupon. But yet not contenting your* Selves *with this excuſe of yours, which indeed cannot hold* Water, *ye come after to a direct* contradiction *to the* concluſion *of your former* Petition, *ſaying, that the* Honor *and* Safety *of* Us *and* Our poſterity, *and the* patrimony *of* our Children *invaded, and poſſeſſed by their* Enemies, *the* welfare *of* Religion, *and* State *of* Our Kingdom, are matters at any time not unfit for your deepeſt conſiderations in Parliament. *To this* generality, We anſwer *with the* Logicians, That where all things are contained, nothing is omitted. *So as this* plenipotency *of yours inveſts you in all* power *upon* Earth, *lacking nothing but the* Popes *to have the* Keyes *alſo both of* Heaven *and* Purgatory. *And to this* vaſt *generality of yours, we can give no other Anſwer; for it will trouble all the beſt* Lawyers *in the* Houſe, *to make a good* Commentary *upon it. For ſo did the* Puritan Miniſters *in* Scotland, *bring all kind of* Cauſes *within the* compaſs *of their* Juriſdiction, *ſaying, That it was the* Churches Office *to judge of* Slander, *and there could no kind of* crime *or* fault *be committed, but there was a* ſlander *in it, either againſt* God, *the* King, *or their* Neighbour, *and by this means they hooked into themſelves the*

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Cognitance *of all Causes. Or like* Bellarmin's *distinction of the Popes power over Kings,* in ordine ad Spiritualia, *whereby he gives them all Temporal* Jurisdiction *over them.*

But to give you a direct Answer to the matter of Warr, for which you are so earnest: We confess, we rather expected you should have given Us thanks for the so long maintaining a setled peace in all Our Dominions, *when as all Our neighbours about are in* miserable *combustion of War. But* Dulce Bellum inexpertis. *And we indeed find by experience that a number of* Our Subjects *are so pampered with* Peace, *as they are desirous of* Change, *though they know not what.*

It is true that We have ever professed (and in that mind with God's grace *we will live and die) that We will labour by all means possible either by* Treaty, *or by force, to restore* Our Children *to their ancient* Dignity *and Inheritance; And whatsoever* Christian Princes, *or* Potentates, *will set themselves against it, We will not spare any* lawful *means to bring* Our *so just and* Honourable purpose *to a good end. Neither shall the match of* Our Son *or any other* Worldly *respect be preferred to this* Our Resolution. *For by* Our Credit, *and intervention with the King of* Spain, *and the* Arch-Dutchess, *and her* Husband *now with* God, *We preserved the lower* Palatinate *one whole year, from any further Conquering in it, which in any eight daies space in that time, might have easily been swallowed up by* Spinola's Army, *without any resistance; And in no better* Case *was it now at our* Ambassadour *the Lord* Digbies *coming through* Heildeburgh, *if he had not extraordinarily succoured it.*

But because We conceive that ye couple this War of the Palatinate *with the cause of* Religion, *We must a little unfold your eyes herein. The beginning of this miserable War, which hath set all* Christendom *on fire, was not for* Religion, *but only caused by our* Son in Law, his hasty and rash Resolution, *following evil* Counsel, *to take to himself the* Crown *of* Bohemia: *And that this is true, himself* wrote Letters *unto Us at that time, desiring Us to give assurance both to the French* King *and* State of Venice, *that his accepting of the* Crown *of* Bohemia, *had no reference to the Cause of* Religion, *but only by reason of his right of* Election *(as he called it.) And We would be sorry that that aspersion should come upon our* Religion, *as to make it a good pretext for dethroning of Kings, and Usurping their* Crowns. *And we would be loth that our people here should be taught that* Doctrine; *No, let us not so far wrong the* Jesuits, *as to rob them of their sweet* Positions, *and Practice in that point. And upon the other part,* We assure Our self *so far of your* Charitable *thoughts of Us, that We would never have Constantly denied* Our son-in-law *both the* Title *and Assistance in that point, if We had been well perswaded of the* Justice *of his* Quarrel. *But to conclude, this unjust usurpation of the* Crowns *of* Bohemia *and* Hungaria *from the Emperour, hath given the Pope, and all that party*

two



ROBERTVS BELLARMINVS *Politianus Societatis* IESV, *omni rubinorum quàm purpurâ nitor: nec pio minus, quam docto in hæreses contorrentium calamo orbi notissimus. Virtutum vt amator, ita cultor omnium. quem a Matre virginem cœnum acceperat, quam a sacro lauacro innocentiam, Deo reddidit. nullius sibi vitæ vmbram metuendi conscius. cuius etiam medicum manum post mortem in vario morborum genere experti non pauci. Viuere his desijt, cœle incepit Anno* M.DC.XXI. *ætatis suæ* LXXIX.

REVERENDISSIMO DOMINO D.DIONYSIO CHRISTOPHORI BRVGENSIVM ANTISTITI HEREDITARIO FLANDRIÆ CANCELLARIO CARD: ILLVSTRISS: BELLARMINI ROMÆ OLIM A SECRETIS ET A SACRIS DOMESTICIS FAMILIARI ET COMMENSALI CONTINVO D.ET S.A.DOLSWERT FRATRI DD:CC:



too fair a ground, and opened them too Wide a Gate, *for Curbing and* oppreſſing *of many thouſands of our* Religion *in divers parts of* Chriſtendom.

And whereas you excuſe your touching upon the King of Spain, *upon occaſion of the incidents by you repeated in that place, and yet affirm that it is without any touch to his* Honour, *We cannot wonder enough that ye are ſo forgetful, both of your* Words *and* Writs: *For in your former Petition ye plainly affirm, that he affects the Temporal* Monarchy *of the whole Earth, then which there can be no more* malice *uttered againſt any great King, to make all other* Princes *and* Potentates *both envie and hate him. But if ye liſt, it may be eaſily tried, whether that* Speech *touched him in* Honour *or not: if we ſhall ask him the* Queſtion, *whether he means to aſſume to himſelf that Title or no? For every King can beſt judge of his own* Honour. *We omit the* particular *ejaculations of ſome foul mouthed* Orators *in your* Houſe, *againſt the* Honour *of his* Crown *and* State.

And touching your excuſe of not determining any thing concerning the Match *of our deareſt* Son, *but only to tell your* opinions, *and lay it down at Our feet: Firſt, We deſire to know how you could have preſumed to determin in that* point *without* Committing of high Treaſon. *And next you cannot deny, but your talking of his* Match *after that manner, was a direct* breach *of* Our commandment, *and* Declaration *out of* Our own mouth, *at the firſt ſitting down of this* Parliament; *where we plainly profeſſed, that we were in treaty of his* Match *with* Spain, *and wiſhed you to have that* Confidence in our Religion, *and* Wiſdom, *that We would ſo manage it as* Our Religion *ſhould receive no* prejudice *by it. And the ſame We now repeat unto you, profeſſing that We are ſo far engaged in that* Match, *as we cannot in* Honour *go back, except the King of* Spain *perform not ſuch things as we expect at his hands: And therefore We are ſorry that ye ſhould ſhew to have ſo great* Diſtruſt *in Us, or to conceive that We ſhould be cold in our* Religion: *otherwiſe We cannot imagine how Our former public* Declaration *ſhould not have ſtopt your* mouths *in this* point.

And as to your Requeſt, That We would now receive your former Petition, *We wonder what could make you* preſume, *that We would not receive it; whereas in our former Letter, We plainly declared the* Contrary *unto you, and therefore we have juſtly rejected that* ſuit *of yours. For what have you left un-attempted in the* Higheſt points of Soveraignty in that Petition of yours, *except the ſtriking of* Coin? *For it contains the violation of Leagues, the* particular *way how to govern a* War, *and the* Marriage *of our deareſt Son, both Negative with* Spain, *nay with any other* Popiſh Princeſs. *And alſo Affirmatively, as to the Matching with one of* Our *Religion; which* We confeſs is a ſtrain beyond any Providence or Wiſdom God hath given Us, as things now ſtand.

Theſe

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These are unfit things to be handled in Parliament, *except your King should require it of you*; For who can have Wisdom to judge of things of that Nature? but such as are daily acquainted with the particulars of Treaties, *and of the Variable or fixed Connexion of* Affairs of State, *together with the knowledge of the secret ways, ends, and intentions of* Princes, *in their* several Negotiations: *otherwise a small mistaking in matters of this* Nature *may produce more effects than can be imagined. And therefore* Ne sutor ultra crepidam. *And besides the intermedling in* Parliament *with* matters *of* Peace, *or* War, *and Marriage of Our dearest Son, would be such a diminution to Us, and to* Our Crown *in forraign Countries, as would make any* Prince *neglect to treat with Us, either in* matters *of* Peace *or* Marriage, *except they might be assured by the assent of* Parliament. *And so it proved long ago with a King of* France, *who upon a trick procuring his* States *to dissent from some* Treaty, *which before he had made; was after refused treating with any other* Princes, *to his great reproach, unless he would first procure the* Assent *of his* Estates *to their* Proposition. *And will you cast your eyes upon the late* Times, *you shall find that the late* Queen *of* Famous memory, *was humbly* petitioned *by a* Parliament *to be pleased to marry: But her Answer was, that she liked their* petition *well, because it was simple, not limiting her to place or* person, *as not befitting her liking to their* Fancies; *and if they had done otherwise, she would have thought it a high presumption in them.* Judge then what We may do in such a Case? *having made our public* Declaration *already (as we said before) directly contrary to that which you have now petitioned.*

False play justly rewarded.

Now to the points *in your* Petition, *whereof you desire an answer as properly belonging to the* Parliament. *The first and the greatest* point *is that of* Religion, *concerning which at this time We can give you no other answer than in the* General; *which is, that you may rest secure, that We will never be weary to do all we can for the* propagation *of* Our Religion, *and repressing of* Popery. *But the manner and form you must remit to* Our *care and providence, who can best consider of* Times *and* Seasons; *not by undertaking a public War of* Religion *through all the* World *at once; which, how hard and dangerous a task it may prove, you may judge. But this puts Us in mind how all the* World *complained the last year of plenty of* Corn, *and* God hath sent Us a cooling Card *this year for that heat. And so* We *pray* God *that this desire among you of Kindling* Wars *(shewing your weariness of* Peace *and* Plenty*) may not make God permit Us to fall into the* miseries *of both. But as we already said,* Our care of Religion *must be such, as on the one part We must not by the hot persecution of* Our Recusants *at home, irritate forrain* Princes *of contrary* Religion, *and teach them the way to plague the* Protestants *in their* Dominions, *whom with We dayly intercede, and at this time principally for ease to them of Our*

Wars good to prevent wars.

profession

profeſſion, *that live under them. Yet upon the other part, We never mean to ſpare from due and ſevere* puniſhment *any* Papiſt *that will grow inſolent, for living under* Our *ſo mild* Government. *And you may alſo be aſſured, We will leave no* Care *untaken, as well for the good* Education *of the youth at home, eſpecially the* Children *of* Papiſts, *as alſo for preſerving at all times hereafter the youth that are or ſhall be abroad, from being bred in dangerous places, and ſo poiſoned in* Popiſh Seminaries. *And as in this* point, *namely, concerning the good* Education *of* Popiſh *youth at* Home, *We have already given ſome good proofs both in this Kingdom, and in* Ireland, *ſo will We be well pleaſed to paſs any good* Laws *that ſhall be made, either now, or any time hereafter to this purpoſe.*

And as to your requeſt of making this a Seſſion, *and granting a general* pardon, *it ſhall be in your* Defaults, *if We make not this a* Seſſion *before* Chriſtmas.

But for the Pardon, *ye crave ſuch particulars in it, as We muſt be well adviſed upon, leſt otherwiſe we give you back the double or treble of that we are to receive by your entire* Subſidy, *without* Fifteens. *But the ordinary courſe* We hold *fitteſt to be uſed ſtill in this* Caſe, *is, that* We ſhould of our free grace *ſend you down a* Pardon *from the higher* Houſe, *containing ſuch points as We ſhall think fitteſt, wherein we hope ye ſhall receive good ſatisfaction.*

But We *cannot omit to ſhew you how ſtrange we think it, that ye ſhould make ſo bad and unjuſt a Commentary upon ſome words of our former Letter, as if we meant to reſtrain you thereby of your ancient* privileges *and liberties in* Parliament. *Truly a* Scholler *would be aſhamed ſo to miſplace, and miſ-judge any* Sentences *in another Mans book. For whereas in the end of our former Letter* We *diſcharge you to meddle with matters of* Government *and* Myſteries *of* State, *namely, Matters of* War *or* Peace, *or our deareſt Sons* Match *with* Spain; *by which particular denominations,* We *interpret, and reſtrain* Our *former* words: *And then after* We *forbid you to meddle with ſuch things as have their* Ordinary *courſe in* Courts of Juſtice: *yet couple together thoſe two diſtinct* Sentences, *and plainly leave out theſe words,* Of Myſteries of State; *ſo as ye err, à benè diviſis ad malè conjecta. For of the former part concerning* Myſteries of State, We *plainly reſtrained our meaning to the* particulars *that were after mentioned. And in the latter we confeſs we meant it by Sir* Edward Cook's *fooliſh buſineſs. And therefore it had well become him, eſpecially being* Our Servant, *and One of* Our Conſel *to have complained unto Us, which he never did, though he was ordinarily at Court ſince, and never had acceſs refuſed unto him.*

And although We *cannot allow of the* ſtile, *calling it,* Your Ancient and undoubted right and inheritance, *but could rather have wiſhed that ye had ſaid,* That your Privileges were derived from the Grace, and permiſſion of our Anceſtors and Us

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Us (*for most of them grow from* Precedents, *which shews rather a toleration than inheritance*) *yet we are pleased to give you* Our Royal *assurance, that as long as you shall contain your* selves *within the limits of your* Duty, *we will be as careful to maintain, and preserve your lawful Liberties and Privileges, as ever any of* Our Predecessors *were; nay, as to preserve* Our own Royal Prerogative. *So as your House shall only have need to beware to trench upon the* Prerogative *of the* Crown; *which would enforce Us, or any just King to retrench them of their* Privileges *that would pare his* Prerogative *and Flowers of the* Crown. *But of this* We *hope there shall be never cause given.* This was the effect of the King's Answer, which was dated at *New-market* the 11. of *December* 1621.

The King and People Competitors.

Thus the King acted his part, and though his answer might be the Result of his thoughts, yet it was some transcendent Cause that put it into *Words*, for his *Nature* was apt enough to fear the *Sound* of its own impressions. But now his *Spirit* was mounted, either the Breach of the Treaty with *Spain*, or the Breach (as he thought) upon his *Prerogative* gave wing, to raise his *Anger* higher than his fear. *Princes* that never knew how to obey, ride their *Passions* with a loose rein, and are easiest carried by that impulsion. The *Prince* and the *People* are here *Competitors*, both jealous of encroachments, both striving to prevent them. *Liberty* is a power that gives a well being, and life to the *People*. *Power* is a liberty that *Princes* take to be the very life of their *Being*. Kings are like the *Sea*, and the people like the land, the industry of the one striving with the *Piles*, and *Banks* of good laws, and *Precedents*, to bound the often-spring-tides, and over-flowing of the other. In *Scotland* the Land was high, Rocky, and inaccessible for his *Waves* though never so boisterous; Here he finds a smooth *Shore*, and the people as tame in their obedience, as they were in their sufferings, which makes him the bolder with them.

Discourses upon the Kings Answer.

But the *Parliament* (weighing the King's answer by the *Ballance* of *Reason*, not *Passion*) found that there was little for them to do. For how is this a mixt *Government*, when Kings do what they please? They *Call* their *People* to a *Parliament*, where the three *Estates* are said to be the mixt *Government*, but what is their great *Errand*? to get *Money*. If they touch upon *miscarriage in Government*, it disparages him to his people, (for now the inside of his *Copses* are *well grown again.*) If upon *Religion*, he knows well enough how to order that, if the *Treaty* with *Spain* goes on. And for the affairs of *State*, he seems to imply as if there were some hidden and secret *Art* in those *Mysteries of King-craft*, that the *Parliaments* apprehension cannot reach. For, *who can have wisdom* (saith he) *to judge of things*

of

CÆSAR BORGIA VALENtinorum Dux.



Cum pater ad ſummos Romæ eſſet vectus honores
Borgai, toto Præſul vt orbe foret,
Purpurei donat gnato huic inſigne galeri,
Quod tamen hoc tantum reſtuit ille decus,
Cum ferè bella ſequi mallet Venerem q́ nefandam,
Et fratrem è medio tolleret inde ſuum.

of that Nature, but thoſe that are traded in them? Every man in his *Profeſſion!* So the *Prieſts* by their old *Oracles* did ſtrive to keep the *World* in ignorance, as the *Romiſh Factors* do now. Whereas the true way of *Treaties* is with *Chriſtian*, not *Machiavelian policy*. This we require, this anſwer we expect, you ſhall have this *Retribution* from Us. If you go about to *cozen* and *cheat* Us by delays, and ſpin out time for ends, ſuch *Syrens* muſt not be liſtened after. Every *State* muſt ſtand upon the *foundation* of its own *Reaſon* and *Power*, and not build *Caſtles* of paper-*Hopes* upon deceitful promiſes, unleſs there be ſuch redundant Cauſes of dependency upon them, as it is impoſſible to *ſubſiſt* without them. It was obſerved by *Comines*, that in all *Treaties* betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *French*, the *Engliſh* ever had the *worſt*; but in all *Wars* and *Conflicts*, the *Engliſh* had the *better*: intimating that *Subtilty* may deceive, but plain down-right *Honeſty* is beſt, and will prevail. *Falſneſs* is fit for *ſuch ſpirits* as *Pope Alexander*, or his *Nephew*, *Cæſar Borgia*. *Scipio*, though a Heathen in his *pactions* with *Spain* and *Carthage*, ſcorned it; and the old *Roman Senate* were ſo Gallant, as to rebuke *Lucius Marcius*, their Ambaſſador and *General*, becauſe in the managing of his Wars and Treaties, with *Perſeus* King of *Macedon*, he went about by *ſubtilties* to circumvent him. And now an *Ambaſſador* (as one ſaith) *lyes* abroad, *Reipublicæ cauſa*, for the good of his Countrey, which tends rather to the hurt of it.

But now they find that the King would only make *Merchandize* of the *Common-wealth*, yet *Merchants* look for their Money again with advantage, and therefore their *Counſel* in diſpoſing it may be well ſpared. But the *Parliament* if they raiſe Money from the *People* (which is never to be repayed) there is good reaſon they ſhould know not only to what purpoſe it is levied, but how prudently and fitly laid out: otherwiſe as the *King* tells them in the compariſon of the *Robber* (though in relation to his *Prerogative*) if they ſhould be ſummoned to levy Money of the *people* without *conſideration* of what it is for, or how it ſhall be diſpoſed for the good of the *Kingdom*, they may very well ſay and proteſt, That they meant not to take it from them ſo; that is, not to rob them of it. But the *King's neceſſities* muſt come under the *Common Emergencies*, which he would not have known; and what will one *Subſidy* without fifteens do? The *Proteſtants* want in the *Palatinate*, ſo doth he in *England*: But *he* had lately a great aſſiſtance from his *People*, never *King* of *England* found greater love, (as he ſaith of himſelf) yet he wants ſtill, and would have ſupply for it under the *notion* of a War. They muſt conſider what Money is fit, what Foot, what Horſe neceſſary, but they muſt not know for what. All that they can imagine, is, that the

The Parliament the Kings Merchants.

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King wants Money for his *Favourite Buckingham*, and his kindred, to furnish them against *Christmas*, for feasting, gaming, and bravery, the three main *pillars* of the *Times* licentiousness, raised up to a stupendious and excessive height, or to send out his *Ambassadors*, or help his indigent and expensive Courtiers, and then the Wars are ended; for *Want* is a great *War*. But if the good of the Kingdom, the establishment of *Religion*, the happiness of the King and his *Posterity* be not fit Themes for them to discourse of, why are they called?

The late *Queen* (whose *memory* will be for ever famous) by the King's own relation liked the *Parliaments Petition* well, when they humbly besought her to marry, because they did not prescribe her *place* and *person*, but left that to her *Election*, if they had done otherwise, *She* would have thought it presumption in them. The King thinks it presumption in the *Parliament*, humbly to beseech him (for the good of *Religion*) to permit his Son to marry with a *Protestant Princess*, if they had fixt upon *place* or *person*, he would have thought it High Treason. So many degrees high was the King's spirit mounted above a *Woman's* to humble *Subjects*, and so many degrees lower then *Hers* was his *Spirit* to daring *Enemies*.

Some of these things were publickly discoursed of among them in the *House*, and other-some muttered and talkt of in private (*for full breasts will find vent*) but the *main business* that the *Commons* insisted on, was the King's incroachment upon their *Liberties*, debarring them *freedom of speech in Parliament*, which was a Natural, Reasonable, and uncontroul'd immunity, as long as they kept themselves within the limits of their duty, which the *House* was to be the *sole judge* of. And who can tax any particular *Member* with *miscarriages* that way, that the house hath not Censured hitherto? for now the *heat* is but new broke in among them, and this liberty of speech stuck most with them; for if any man should speak any thing to displease the King (though it tended never so much to the good of the Kingdom) it might be termed insolent behaviour, and be liable to *punishment* after *Parliament* (if not then) as the King threatens in his Letter, which carried such a Terror and over-awing with it, that they resolved to give over all business, lest they should offend. Which the King hearing of, writes again to his *Secretary*, *Calvert*, and the *Speaker*, to take off the edge of those sharp expressions he used in his Letters, thinking to cool the heat among them.

The higher House offended.

But before this heat was in the *House* of *Commons*, the Lords began to consider how cheap they were made by the multitude of *Irish*, and *Scotch* Earls and Viscounts, the King had accumulated, not the Natives of those *Kingdoms*, but private *English*

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Engliſh Gentlemen, who had procured, and aſſumed thoſe Titles, to perch above the *Engliſh* Baronry, to their great regret and diſhonour. And after ſome debate, and canvaſſing in it, they reſolved, That though they could not debar the King from making ſuch ſwarms of *Nobles* with *Outlandiſh Titles*, yet they would let him know what prejudice it was to them, and if it produced no other good effect, the King might at leaſt ſee they took offence, and were not well pleaſed with it, which made them preſent him with this *Petition*, thus *Subſigned*.

The Humble Petition of the Nobility of England.

They Petition.

THat *whereas your* Majeſty *at the importunity of ſome natural Subjects of this Realm of* England, *hath been pleaſed to confer upon them*, Honours, Titles, *and* Dignities, *peculiar to other your* Majeſtie's Dominions, *by which all the* Nobility *of this Realm, either in themſelves, their* Children *or both, find they are prejudiced. Our humble deſire is, that with your gracious allowance, we may challenge, and preſerve our* Birth-rights, *And that we may take no more notice of theſe* Titulars *to our* Prejudice, *than the Law of this Land doth, but that we may be excuſed, if in civil courteſie, we give them not the reſpect or place, as to* Noblemen *ſtrangers, ſeeing that theſe being our Country Men, born and inheritanced under our Laws, their families and abode among us, have yet procured their Tranſlation into foreign names, only to our injury.*

But in this addreſs to your Sacred Majeſty, it is far from Us to meddle with, much leſs to limit, or interpret the Power *of your* Soveraignty, *knowing that your Majeſty (being the Root whence all* Honour *receives* Sap, *under what* Title *ſoever) may collate what you pleaſe, upon whom, when, and how you pleaſe; Wherefore in all humbleneſs We preſent this to your gracious view, confident of your Majeſties equal favour herein.*

1. *Oxford.*	12. *Willoughbie.*	23. *Paget.*
2. *Huntington.*	13. *Sheffeild.*	24. *Ruſſell.*
3. *Eſſex.*	14. *Windſor.*	25. *Gerrard.*
4. *Lincoln.*	15. *Gray.*	26. *Dudley.*
5. *Dorſet.*	16. *Wentworth.*	27. *Hunſdon.*
6. *Salisbury.*	17. *Mordant.*	28. *Denny.*
7. *Warwick.*	18. *Scroop.*	29. *Spencer.*
8. *Abergavenie.*	19. *Cromwell.*	30. *Haughton.*
9. *Dacres.*	20. *Sturton.*	31. *Stanhope.*
10. *Darcie.*	21. *Howard.*	32. *Say.*
11. *Stafford.*	22. *St. John.*	33. *Noell.*

The King angry.

Thus we ſee the *Errors* of *Princes*, are ſometimes put into the *Scale*, and they bring with them ſo much trouble and vexa-

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tion, that they often weigh down their *Glory* and *Happineſs*; for no man can feel the load and burthen of it, but he that wears a *Crown*. The King was *conſcious* to himſelf that he had done theſe Noblemen injury, eſpecially the *Barons*, to advance their inferiours above them, for a little profit either to himſelf or his *Courtiers*. And if he had not heard of this *Petition* before, ſuch a Troop of attendance together might have ſtartled him, but being prepared for it, he muſtered up his *Spirits*, thinking it too great an abaſement for *Majeſty* to ſtoop at their *Summons*, being ſo publick an *Action*; or to leſſon or recall what he had done. Yet he was troubled, not knowing what *quarrels* the ſtrife for *place* and *precedency* might produce; or what ill blood the diſcontent of ſo many of the *Nobility* at one time might ingender: Therefore he ſent for them all, or the moſt eminent and leading men of them, ſome days after, and expoſtulated the *buſineſs* with them, one by one, in private, knowing he could deal beſt with them ſo, beginning with ſome of them roughly, yet ſtill he cloſed with them at laſt, his anger being (as it were) raiſed to make them humble, and reconcile themſelves to him, that he might the better reconcile himſelf to them: And to the Earl of *Eſſex* he vented this Expreſſion, *I fear thee not* Eſſex, *if thou wert as well beloved as thy father, and hadſt forty thouſand men at thy heels.* Which words he uttered as if he had chid himſelf that they made an eſcape from him. And though this *Petition* did not derogate from the *Dignity* of thoſe *creations* paſt, yet the King willingly reſtrained himſelf for the time to come.

The Commons diſcontent.

But the *Houſe of Commons* found the *King's Letters* to entangle the way rather than make a free paſſage to their *Liberties*, for that which was their birth-right would now come to be derived from his Anceſtors. And for all the King's fineneſſes they thought *Religion* very *un ſecure*: for as long as the bent of his *Affections* tended to the *Spaniſh match*, there muſt needs be a *wide Gap open* as an inlet to *Popery*; and if it may be made *Treaſon* for his *Parliament* to adviſe him from it, they ſaw but a very ſmall door left open to liberty. But whatſoever befell them, they reſolved to leave to *poſterity* ſome prints and footſteps of their *Parliamentary Rights* and *Privileges*, left them by their great *Anceſtors*, that though they could not preſerve them intire, thoſe that ſucceed them might at leaſt find ſome *Reliques*, and ruins of what they had; Which made them make this *Proteſtation* recorded in their *Journal Book*, 19. Dec. 1621.

Their Proteſtation.

THe Commons now Aſſembled in Parliament, being juſtly occaſioned thereunto, concerning ſundry Liberties, Franchiſes, *and Privileges of* Parliament, *among others here mentioned, do make this* Proteſtation *following*. *That the Liberties, Franchiſes, Privileges,*

Privileges, and Juriſdictions of Parliament, *are the ancient and undoubted* Birth-right, *and inheritance of the* Subjects *of* England, *And that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the* King, State, *and defence of the* Realm, *and of the* Church *of* England, *and the* Maintenance, *and making of* Laws, *and redreſs of* Miſchiefs *and grievances, which daily happen within this* Realm, *are proper* Subjects, *and matter of* Counſel, *and debate in* Parliament. *And that in the handling and proceeding of thoſe buſineſſes, every* Member *of* Parliament *hath, and of right ought to have* freedom *of* Speech, *to propound, treat, reaſon, and bring to* Concluſion *the ſame. And that the* Commons *in* Parliament *have likewiſe liberty, and freedom to treat of theſe* Matters, *in ſuch order as in their judgments ſhall ſeem fitteſt. And that every* Member *of the ſaid Houſe hath like* Freedom, *from all impeachment, impriſonment, and* Moleſtation, *(other then by cenſure of the houſe it ſelf) for, or concerning any ſpeaking, reaſoning, or declaring of any matter or matters, touching the* Parliament, *or* Parliament *buſineſs. And that if any of the ſaid* Members *be complained of, and queſtioned for any thing done, or ſaid in* Parliament, *the ſame is to be ſhewed to the King, by the advice and aſſent of all the* Commons *aſſembled in* Parliament, *before the King give credence to any private information.*

The King was again *Alarum'd* by this *Proteſtation*, and he that naturally loved *Peace*, both at home and abroad, found a loud War in his own Breaſt, which indeed was in effect raiſed by himſelf, for no wiſdom could reſolve the *Intricacies* of his *Reſolutions* but his own; for he would have a War with the *Emperor* in *Contemplation*, and a *Treaty* with the King of *Spain* in *Action*, both at one time, who were (as it were) one perſon; and becauſe the *Parliament*, like wiſe *Mathematicians*, would uſe the *Practical* part as well as the *Theory*, he was enraged againſt them, and his *Prerogative* ſtept in as a ſtickler, and broke out like an *Exhalation*, in thundring, and terror, to the *Aſtoniſhment*, and fear of his people, which made them ſhrowd themſelves from thoſe ſtorms, by creeping under the *Shelter* of their *Native liberties*. And now the King flies from his hot and intemperate *Region*, to ſoom cool *Conſiderations*. If he ſhould yield by *Silence*, or *Connivence* to this *Proteſtation*, it would remain as an impregnable *Bulwark* for the people to *Poſterity*. And what is this terrible thing? their juſt *Liberties*. If he ſhould oppoſe it with *Rigor*, it might produce ſuch an inteſtine *Diviſion* at home, as with all induſtry he ſtrove to prevent abroad. Break the *Treaty* with *Spain* he would not, his *Heart* was too much ſet upon it, for he could find no *Proteſtant Princeſs* good enough, the high and elated *Extraction* of *Kings*, will raiſe the people up to a kind of *Adoration* (as the old *Heathens* did the *Race* of their *Gods* and *Heroes.*) Whereas true *Honeſty*

The King's trouble increaſes.

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ſty and *piety*, finds out ſuch matches as may as well bring *Glory* to *God* as to man, not worldly Bleſſings only, but heavenly alſo. Loſe the love of the people he was loth, for he thought his peaceable *Reign* gained upon them, and that no King had ever deſerved better of a People than he. But *Peace* is a kind of *Soft Rayment*, or *Masking-dreſs*, not always to be worn; *Standing lakes* beget *Corruption*. The *Pool* of *Betheſda* had no *Virtue* till it was ſtirred. *War* is *neceſſary* as *Phyſick* for unſound *Bodies*. *Juſtum id bellum quibus neceſſarium.*

The Parliament is diſſolved.

When the King had weighed every particular ſcruple, by the Ballance of his own *Reaſon*, and *Councel* about him, he took a *Reſolution* to diſſolve the *Parliament*; which he did, by *Proclamation* the ſixth of *January*, being fifteen days after the *Proteſtation* was made, ſo much time he meaſured out by the *Scale* of *conſideration*, before he would pull down ſuch a *Structure* of *Love* as never was built by the people for any of his *Predeceſſors*, which he implies in his *Proclamation*, laying there all the blame upon the *Houſe* of *Commons*, and not on them in general, but on ſome ill-tempered *Spirits* (as he called them) that ſowed *Tares* among the *Corn*, and fruſtrated the *Hopes* of a plentiful *Harveſt*. Striving by theſe imputations to take away the *Odium*, that ſuch a *Diſſolution* might produce.

A Proclamation againſt talking.

The *Parliament* (and conſequently the *Union* between the King and People) being thus diſſolved, every man's tongue is let looſe to run Riot. And though the King loved *Hunting* above all other exerciſes, and had many good *Hunters* about him, yet all thoſe, and the *Strength* of a *Proclamation* (put out to forbid talking of *State Affairs*) could not reſtrain them from mouthing out: That *Great Britain* was become leſs than little *England*; that they had loſt ſtrength by changing *Sexes*, and that he was no King but a *Fidler*'s Son, otherwiſe he would not ſuffer ſuch diſorders at home, and ſo much diſhonour abroad. *So dangerous it is for Princes by a flegmatick remiſſeneſs, to ſlacken the ligaments of the peoples tongues, for ſuch an overflux of bad Humor may bring their obedience to a Paralytick!* And the *Story* of *David Ricius* written by the King's own *Tutor*, *Buchanan*, had died in every Engliſh *Opinion*, if it had not had a new *Impreſſion* by theſe miſcarriages.

Set peoples tongues a-work.

And they ſay further, why ſhould he aſſume to himſelf the *Title* of *Defender* of the *Faith*, that ſuffers the *Proteſtants* of *Germany* and *France*, to be *extirpated*. That he might almoſt have purchaſed ſuch a *Country* as the *Palatinate*, with the Money ſpent on *Ambaſſages*; And that his promiſing the *French Proteſtants* aſſiſtance (by their *Agents* that interceeded for them) made them the more reſolute, and *confident* to their *Ruine*: So that they might well call *England*, the *Land* of *promiſe*. And all that he got by his lip-labour aſſiſtance from the *French King*, was,



Edward Herbert Lord Herbert
of Castle Iland and Lord Herbert
of Chierbery in England

was, that his Ambaſſador Sir *Edward Herbert* was ſnapt up by *Luynes* the young *Conſtable* and *favorite* there; *With what hath your Maſter to do with us and our buſineſs?* Whereas the *Engliſh Fleets* the glory of the *World* (if imployed) would have taught the *French pride* to know that a looker on ſees more than the *Gameſter*, and he that ſtrikes with paſſion will many times thank them that take him off by friendly admonition; ſuch diſcourſes as theſe flew up and down from lip to lip, that it was almoſt *Treaſon* to hear, much more to ſpeak.

Oxford and *Southampton* committed.

The Earl of *Oxford* was betrayed, and accuſed by one *White* a *Papiſt*, (who was vulgarly called after in deriſion, by the *Name* of *Oxford-White*) to have ſpoken ſome words to the *Diſhonour* of the King, and diſparagement of his Government, and was committed to the *Tower*. The Earl of *Southampton* was alſo committed to the *Dean* of *Weſtminſter*. *Oxford* lay by it a great while, and being an *Active* man, the King ſent him at laſt to Sea, to be one of *Buckingham*'s *Vice-Admirals* for the *Engliſh Coaſt*, while Sir *Robert Manſell* guarded the *Coaſts* of *Spain* from being infeſted with the Turks of *Algier*, and *Sally*. Sir *Edward Cook* that was looked upon as one of the great incendiaries in the Houſe of *Commons* is put from the *Council Table* with diſgrace. The King ſaying, he was *the fitteſt inſtrument for a Tyrant that ever was in* England. And yet in the *Houſe* he called the *King's Prerogative*, a great *Over-grown Monſter*. And how can theſe agree. Unleſs becauſe the *King* would not take his *counſel*, *he hanged himſelf on the other ſide*. But whether the King had cauſe to ſay the one I know not, but he (it ſeems) found cauſe enough to ſay the other.

Sir *Ed. Cook* in diſgrace.

Some puniſhed, ſome preferred.

Sir *Thomas Crew*, Sir *Dudly Digges*, Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, and Sir *James Perrot*, men of great *Repute*, and knowledge, active in the *Houſe*, were ſent into *Ireland*, and joyned with others in *commiſſion*, to inquire into *Miſdemeanors* committed there, but (it was thought) as a puniſhment for what they had committed here, for they were long detained from their own occaſions, under the colour of an honorable imployment; And Sir *Peter Hammon* of *Kent* and others, were ſent into the *Palatinate*. This kind of puniſhment beginning now to be in *faſhion*, and not long after this, Sir *John Savile*, the Knight of *York-ſhire*, that carried all the Country at a *Beck*, and a powerful *Man* in the Houſe, is taken off by the *King*, made Comptroler of his *Houſehold*, a Privy Councellor, and not long after a *Baron*, ſo the *King* found out two ways of ſilencing thoſe that were able to do him miſchief. *Active Spirits* that come too near him, muſt either come nearer to him, or be ſent further from him, which he doubts not will take off the edge, and bate the ſharpneſs of the *Humor* another time. And theſe preferments and puniſhments were alſo practiſed by his ſucceſſor with this *Experiment*

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ment in both, that the moſt *popular* men, as ſoon as they wore the *Court* Livery, loſt the love of the *people*; but thoſe that ſuffered for them, were the more beloved and admired by them. *The Commons of* England *having more than an ordinary Genius to ſupport and ſtrengthen the pillars of their Liberties.*

The King diſhonoured abroad.

And as theſe *Troubles* bred diſturbance at home, ſo they begot diſcredit abroad, for now (by this Breach) they undervalued the King's *power* as much as they did before his *Spirit*: yea, even in the King of *Spain*'s own *Towns* (whilſt this beloved Treaty was in heat) they in their *Comedies* preſented *Meſſengers* bringing *News* in haſte, That the *Palatinate* was like to have a very *formidable Army* ſhortly on foot: For the King of *Denmark* would furniſh him with a hundred thouſand *pickel Herrings*, the Hollanders with a hundred thouſand Butter-boxes, and *England* with a hundred thouſand *Ambaſſadors*. And they picture the King in one place with a Scabberd without a Sword. In another place with a Sword that no body could draw out, though divers ſtand pulling at it. At *Bruxels* they painted him with his pockets hanging out, and never a penny in them, nor in his purſe, turned upſide down. In *Antwerp* they pictured the Queen of *Bohemia* like a poor *Iriſh Mantler*, with her hair hanging about her ears, and her child at her back, with the King her father carrying the *Cradle* after her; and every one of theſe *Pictures* had ſeveral *Motto's* expreſſing their *Malice*. Such Scorns and Contempts were put upon the King, and in him on the *Whole Nation*.

And now the Treaty goes on amain. The Lord *Digby* is ſent into *Spain* extraordinary *Ambaſſador*. To relate the manner of whoſe entertainment after his arrival there, it may not be impertinent: for by it may be diſcovered the Courſe-grain of *Spaniſh civility*, and how much our *Ambaſſador* went againſt the hair then, though happily the way may be ſmother now.

He landed at St. *Andero* in *Biſcay*, a poor *Maritime* Town, where the people for the moſt part go all barefoot: and there his Lordſhip had the *patience* to ſtay a Fortnight expecting the Court civilities, which were then upon remove from *Madrid* to *Lerma* (being part of the way to St. *Andero*) without any intention to meet his Lordſhip. When his expectations were tired with attending their *Formalities*, he ſent his *Secretary*, *Simon Digby*, to *Madrid*, to be a Solicitor to the Duke of *Lerma* (who then bore the ſway) that he might have his firſt *Audience* at *Lerma*. And after ſome waiting time (though he had *Our King's Agent*, Mr. *Cottington*, for his *Aſſiſtant*) he was returned with a *Spaniſh ſhrug*, That the King would by no means admit of his deſire, becauſe he knew the *Ambaſſador* came about *buſineſs*, and he went to *Lerma* only for pleaſure.

This

This was a *Rub* in his Lordſhip's way, and being impatient till it were removed, he ſent again to *Court* a ſecond *Petition*, which was to be preſented with all the power *Cottington* could make, and his importunity got the upper hand of the *Spaniſh Reſolution* (though much againſt their minds) that he might come to *Lerma*; for which his Lordſhip was ſo elevated in his *ſpirits*, that he pleaſed himſelf in an endeavouring way to expreſs, *That the King of* Spain *would not have done this favour to any Ambaſſador, but the King of* England's; *nor to any that our King ſhould have ſent, but himſelf.* And it may be partly true, for none (it is hoped) would have begg'd it ſo ſhamefully as he did; for there was no buſineſs to be expected; that muſt be turned into feaſting and jollity; and if he had not hunted after the *King of* Spain *for the favour*, they would have let *Don Juvan*, (as they called him) dance attendance at *Madrid* till all their Sports at *Lerma* had been finiſhed. For all his *Train* (many of them *Knights*, and *Gentlemen*, of good *quality*) murmured to ſee him ſo ſleighted by the *Spaniard*, that being known to be a whole month in the Countrey, he had not the leaſt meſſage or civility from the *Court*; which extraordinary *miſcarriage*, would have put any but an *Extraordinary Ambaſſador* out of countenance. But his Lordſhip made *Bonne mine*, and pleaſed himſelf with the great *favours he ſhould receive at* Lerma, *and* ſo came forward to *Burgos*, which is within twenty Engliſh miles of *Lerma*: And though the Court had been a Fortnight at *Lerma*, yet there was no more news of his *Reception* at *Burgos*, than if he had been ſtill at St. *Andero*.

And now his Lordſhip fearing they would wholly neglect him, thought it his beſt courſe to ſend *Cottington* (who met him at *Burgos*) to *Lerma*, to learn what their pleaſure was to do with him; who returning brought word, that the next day he ſhould have advice what *Order* would be taken. And accordingly one of the *Duke* of *Lerma*'s Secretaries ſent a poor fellow with a Letter, that the next day (being Sunday) there ſhould be two Coaches ſent, to bring his Lorſhip on Tueſday following to *Villa Manza* (a Village a mile ſhort of *Lerma*) where his Lodgings ſhould be ready, and the *King*'s *Harbingers* attending to prepare all things with *Diligence*. This gave new life to his Lordſhip's *ſpirits*; the *Coaches* came according to the time, and to *Villa Manza* they went, every man furniſhed in his beſt accoutrements, hoping to ſee the *Court* that night. But they only found a pitiful, poor, ragged *Village*; where enquiring for the Lord *Ambaſſador's houſe*, the honeſt Country people told them, ſurely they were miſtaken, they knew of no houſe, nor *Harbinger*, nor what they meant, being as much amazed at the ſtrange *queſtions* of the Engliſh, as they had cauſe to be at their ſtrange *Entertainment*.

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The English romed up and down the Town, and could discover no *house* fit for the *Ambassador* to go into, so that he was forced to sit in the *Coach*, and sent *Walsingham Greisley* in all haste to *Lerma*, to know how he should be disposed of: *Greisley* returned, and told the *Ambassador*, They were all so busie in seeing a *Play*, that he could not come to speak with any man that understood any thing relating to his Lordship. Which so distracted him, that he began to doubt whether *Villa Manza* were the place, and it begot a new *Scrutiny*, but the *Scruple* was quickly removed, by finding *Villa Manza* in the Letter, in very legible *characters*. And now he could no longer dissemble like an *Ambassador*, but supplying with impatience what he wanted in *Authority*, commanded the Coachmen in a very hasty manner to drive back to *Burgos*, which they very punctually refused; whereupon his Lordship leapt out of the Coach, and in a great *Choller* mounted on Horseback, crying to his Company, *Away*. The Coachmen seeing him resolute, and fearing to lose their Reward, told his Lordship, They would venture a Chiding to do him service, which dismounted him again, and he entered the *Coach*; but before the wheels turned about, his mind changed, and by some little whispering advice of *Cottington*'s he now determined to tarry there all night: So that after sitting still four hours in a Coach, he made a worse choice, entring into a poor *Cottage*, where bare walls, and want of such fitting furniture as helps *Nature*'s weariness, might tell his Lordship that the *Commons* of *England* stand on a better foundation than wooden shoes. Yet the *Owner* of this house welcomed his Lordship with as much *gravity* as if it had been a well provided *Castle*; so that there was little pleasure to be taken to hear one so over-furnished with *words*, that had such empty rooms.

But now news was brought that a Harbinger was come, who said there was a house, and all things provided, so that his Lordship composed his *countenance* as well as he could upon such a sudden warning, and commanded the *Harbinger* to be brought to him; who excusing himself for not coming time enough to attend his Lordship, said, He was glad to see his Lordship had lighted upon the right House. My Lord something dashed with the ill accommodation, asked him, How he knew it to be the right house? he answered, That himself and one of his fellows had been there the day before to bespeak it. The Master of the House being questioned about it, (having formerly denied it) made good his first assertion, denying there was any body at his House: Which put his Lordship into such a fit of *Anger*, that he threatned to throw the *Harbinger* out at the window for lying. The man affrighted,


Francis Cottington Lord Cottington
of Hanworth M.r of the Court of
Wards Chancellour of the Exchequer

ted, quickly got down the ſtairs, leaving his Lordſhip to his ſhifts, and he and his train that night were but ſlenderly provided for.

The next morning *Cottington* went to *Court* betimes, where he ſpake with the Duke of *Lerma*, repreſenting to him the diſorder that had been at *Villa manza*, whereat the Duke ſeemed highly offended with the *Officers*; and as he was in his heat, in comes the *Harbinger*, who being queſtioned for this miſcarriage, told the Duke (before *Cottington*'s face) that the *Ambaſſador* expected two or three *Grandees* ſhould be ſent to receive him, which failing in, he grew ſo *cholerick*, that when he came to do his ſervice, he threatned to throw him out at the Window. The *Duke* perhaps glad of the occaſion, gave (by way of *Diverſion*) good ear to the fellow's words, and putting on the ſevereſt Countenance, told *Cottington*, He did not think that ſo great a *Councellor* as *Don Juan*, would have ſo miſcarried with *paſſion*, as to menace, and affront the King's Officer in that manner. So that *Cottington*'s buſineſs was quite perverted: for whereas he came to complain of the wrongs his Lordſhip had received, he was now driven to excuſe the *Error* he had committed. So that the Duke of *Lerma* left him in his old Houſe a day or two, to conſider well of it, and then the *Conde de Salazar*, one of the King's *Major Domos*, was ſent to accompany him to the *Court*. Theſe were the *Glories* of the *Spaniſh entertainments*, the *Honour* they gave the *Engliſh*, and the ground work of that *Union* betwixt the *Nations*; whereon they built up ſome great *formalities*, which (like *Royal ſhadows*) vaniſhed in the end and came to nothing.

As the Lord *Digby* is ſent into *Spain*, to ſmooth the way over the *Pyrene*, ſo *Gage* is ſent to *Rome* to make the *Alpes* acceſſible; for the *Diſpenſation* muſt be had from thence for the *Marriage*. *That Man of ſin is the Primum mobile*, he turns about all inferiour *Orbs* at his pleaſure, uſurping a Terrene *Deity*, and holds it by the *chains* of *conſcience*, even now, when the light of *Learning* and *Knowledge*, with a *marvelous influence* ſhines over the *Chriſtian World*. At home the *Priſons* are ſet open, *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits* walk about at noon day to deceive. And *Gondemar* vaunts of four thouſand *Recuſants* that his interceſſion had releaſed: either to make his *ſervice* the more acceptable to his *Maſter*, or to let him ſee how willing *Our King* is to do any thing to advance that *Match* that they never intend. Who is not ſo nice, but that he can ſtay for a *Diſpenſation* from *Rome*, to expedite which, he writes to ſome of the activeſt *Cardinals* there, and receives anſwers from them, by *Gage* his *Agent*, full of alluring *Hopes*. And that he might give ſome more publick Teſtimony of his indulgence, He commands Dr. *Williams* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, then Lord Keeper of the

Car. Bandino.
Car. Lodoviſio.

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great *Seal* of *England*, to paſs *Writs* under the great Seal, to require the *Judges* of every *Circuit*, to enlarge all ſuch *Papiſts* as were impriſoned for *Recuſancy*. Whereupon the Lord *Keeper* iſſued out theſe Writs, and to let the *Judges* ſee how well he was pleaſed with this command, he Corroborates their *Authority* with this Letter, ſigned with his own hand.

Lord Keeper's Letter to the Judges.

After my hearty commendations to you: His Majeſty *having reſolved (out of deep reaſons of* State, *and in expectation of like* Correſpondence *from foreign* Princes, *to the* Profeſſors *of our* Religion) *to grant ſome* Grace, *and* Connivence, *to the impriſoned* Papiſts *of this Kingdom, hath commanded me to paſs ſome* Writs *under the* broad Seal *to that purpoſe:* Requiring *the* Judges *of every* Circuit *to enlarge the ſaid* Priſoners *according to the tenor and effect of the ſame. I am to give you to underſtand (from his Majeſty) how his Majeſtie's Royal pleaſure is, that upon Receipt of theſe* Writs, *you ſhall make no niceneſs, or difficulty to extend that his* Princely *favour to all ſuch* Papiſts *as you ſhall find priſoners in the Goals of your Circuits, for any* Church Recuſancy *whatſoever, or refuſing the* Oath of Supremacy, *or diſperſing* Popiſh Books, *or hearing, ſaying of* Maſs, *or any other point of* Recuſancy, *which doth touch or concern* Religion *only, and not* Matters of State. *And ſo I bid you farewel.*

Weſtminſter Coll. 2 *Aug.* 1622. *Your loving friend,* JO. LINCOLN.

His Preferment, Character, and part of his Story.

This Biſhop ſucceded the Lord *Verulam*, not as Chancellor, but Keeper of the great *Seal*, he having been by *Buckingham*'s means made Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and Biſhop of *Lincoln*, upon *Neil*'s remove to *Durham*, and for a long time had very gracious acceptance with the *Counteſs* of *Buckingham*, who was a great means to ſmooth his paſſage to all theſe places, and the Marqueſs her Son was the rather induced to it, becauſe he was his *creature*, and could mould him (as he thought) to ſerve his own turn; though when he had ſifted and tried him, he found ſome *Phariſaical leaven* in him, and afterwards in the next King's Reign threw him by. For though he were compoſed of many grains of good Learning, yet the *Height of his Spirit* (I will not ſay *Pride*) made him odious even to thoſe that raiſed him; happily becauſe they could not attain to thoſe *Ends* by him, that they required of him: For great and good *Officers* ought to be juſt to their own *principles*, and not deviate from them for any *worldly Reſpects*.

But being of a comly and ſtately *Preſence*, and that animated with a great *Mind*, made him appear very proud to the *Vulgar Eye*, but that very temper raiſed him to aim at great things



William Arch-B: of Canterbury
Primate of all England etc.

things, which he effected, for the old ruinous *Body of the Abby Church at Weſtminſter* was new clothed by him; The fair and beautiful *Library of* St. *John*'s in *Cambridge*, was a *Pile of his Erection*; and a very compleat *Chappel* built by him at *Lincoln-College* in *Oxford*, meerly for the name of *Lincoln*, having no intereſt in, nor relation to that *Univerſity*. Theſe were *Arguments* of a great *Mind*, how far from *Oſtentation* in this frail *Body of Fleſh*, cannot be determined, becauſe the *Benefit* of publick *Actions*, ſmooths every ſtone that makes up the *building*.

But that which heightned him moſt in the *Opinion* of thoſe that knew him beſt, was his bountiful *Mind* to *Men* in *Want*, being a great *Patron* to ſupport, where there was *Merit* that wanted ſupply. Among the reſt *Monſieur de Molin*, a very famous *Miniſter* of *France*, (in the perſecution there) driven into *England* for *Refuge*. The *Biſhop* hearing of him, ſpoke to Doctor *Hacket* his *Chaplain* to make him a *Viſit* from him. And becauſe (ſaith he) I think the *Man* may be in *Want*, in a *ſtrange Country*, carry him ſome *Money*, not naming the Sum, becauſe he would ſound the depths of his *Chaplain*'s *mind*. Doctor *Hacket* finding the *Biſhop* nominate no proportion, told him he could not give him leſs than twenty pound. *I did demur* upon the *Sum* (ſaid the *Biſhop*) to try you. *Is twenty pound a fit gift for me to give a man of his parts and deſerts? Take a hundred pounds, and preſent it from me, and tell him he ſhall not want, and I will come ſhortly and viſit him my ſelf.* Which he after performed, and made good his *Promiſe* in ſupplying him during his abode in *England*.

But theſe great *Actions* were not publickly viſible; thoſe were more apparent that were looked on with an *Envious*, rather than an *Emulous Eye*. For the cloſe and intimate *Correſpondence*, that was betwixt this *Biſhop* and the old *Counteſs*, ſet many ſcurrilous tongues, and *Pens* awork, though he was (as I have been aſſured) *Eunuchus ad Utero*, which ſhews that nothing can prevent *Malice*, but ſuch an innocence as it cannot lay hold on. *For it hath ever been accounted a crime, not to endeavour to prevent the voice of Calumny.*

His *breach* with *Laud*, *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury*, and the diſgraces put upon him by the Court, will not fall in here, nor his cloſing again, and *Strugling* when he ſaw the *Axe* laid to the Root of *Epiſcopacy*. But by this man's *Actions* (as in a *Mirror*) may be ſeen that a great *Eſtate*, which *(beſides his bounty)* his places procured him, is a liquoriſh *Temptation*, to make a *man Proteus*-like vary from one ſhape to another, and to ſhape no direct courſe, but to go ſtill as the wind blows.

Not long before this, that *Reverend Prelate*, George *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury*, a man of a holy and unblamable life (med-

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Archbishop *Abbat* kills a Keeper.

ling with edged Tools that he used not to handle in his *Study*) by a sad accident killed a keeper with a forked arrow as he was *shooting* at a Dear. This was a great perplexity to the good man, and a heavy Knell to his *Aged Spirit*, which he petitioned the *King* might ring a *Requiem* to his retired thoughts, at *Guildford*, his place of *Birth*, where he had built a very *Munificent Alms-house*, for poor people, and where he went to bring his *Spirit* under, to make it more blessed than the *Glories* of the World can contribute to it. There were very many willing to have him retire to his rest, that gaped after his *Dignity* more than desert, and though Doctor *Laud* was but newly initiated into his *Bishoprick* of St. *David's* (by other hands, because those of the *Arch-Bishop* were tinctured with blood, as he saith himself) yet his enmity was not small against him, for being a means to let the King know, he was reputed a *Papist* in *Oxford*, and a dangerous turbulent *Spirit*. But the King granted out a *Commission* to enquire whether casual *Homicide* did make the *Arch-Bishop* irregular? And in the *Disquisition* of it, he found many friends that restored him from his *Alms-house* to his *Palace*. But this he did, and would have done in either *condition*. The widow of the man that fell by him was raised by him, and she and her children (as may be said) built a commodious *being* upon his grave.

Arminianism flourished.

The King's mercy and indulgence extending towards the *Papists*, taught many men to come as near *Popery* as they could stretch, finding it the next way to preferment, so that *Arminius's Tenets* flew up and down from Pulpit to Pulpit, that indeed preaching was nothing but declamation, little tending to Edification (such *Orthodox Ministers*, as strove to refute these erronious *Opinions* being looked on as *Puritans*, and *Antimonarchical*) which continual rubbing one against another, begot so much heat, as might have turned into a flame not easie to be quenched. And the King had daily information how the *Pulpits* rung against the *Spanish match*. So that to settle these extravagancies, he directs his Letters to the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury* in this manner for *Regulating of the Ministery*.

The King's Letter for regulating the Ministery.

MOst Reverend Father in God, right trusty and intirely beloved Councellor, we greet you well. *Forasmuch as the abuses and extravagancies of preachers in the* Pulpit *have been in all* Times *expressed in this* Realm, *by some* Act *of* Councel, *or* State, *with the advice and* Resolution, *of grave and learned* Prelates: *Insomuch, that the very licensing of* Preachers, *had beginning by an* Order *of* Star-Chamber, *the eighth day of* July, *in the nineteenth year of the Reign of King* Henry *the eighth, our Noble* Predecessor; *And whereas at this present, divers young* Students, *by reading of late* Writers, *and ungrounded* Divines, *do broach many*



D^r. GEORGE ABBOT, Arch-Bishop
of Canterbury &c.

many times unprofitable, unſound, ſeditious, and dangerous Doctrines *to the ſcandal of the* Church, *and diſquiet of the* State, *and preſent* Government. *We upon humble repreſentations unto us of theſe inconveniences by your ſelf, and ſundry other grave and reverend* Prelates *of this* Church; *as alſo, of* Our Princely *care and* Zeal *for the extirpation of* Schiſm, *and diſſention, growing from theſe ſeeds, and for the ſetling of a* Religious, *and* Peaceable Government, *both in* Church, *and* Commonwealth, *do by theſe* Our *ſpecial letters, ſtraitly charge and command you, to uſe all poſſible* Care, *and* Diligence, *that theſe* Limitations, *and* Cautions, *herewith ſent unto you concerning* Preachers, *be duly, and ſtrictly, from henceforth put in practice and obſerved, by the ſeveral* Biſhops *within your* Juriſdiction. *And to this end* Our Pleaſure *is, that you ſend them forthwith* Copies *of theſe* Directions, *to be by them ſpeedily ſent, and* Communicated, *unto every* Parſon, Vicar, Curate, Lecturer, *and* Miniſter *in every* Cathedral, *or* Pariſh Church, *within their ſeveral* Dioceſs. *And that you earneſtly require them to imploy their utmoſt endeavours, in the performance of this ſo important a buſineſs, letting them know that* We *have a ſpecial Eye unto their* Proceedings, *and expect a ſtrict account thereof, both from you, and every of them: And theſe* Our *Letters ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant, and diſcharge in that behalf.* Given *under* our Signet at our Caſtle *of* Windſor *the* 4. *of* Auguſt, *in the twentieth year of* Our Reign.

Directions concerning Preachers ſent with the Letter.

1. THat *no Preacher, under the* Degree *and calling of a* Biſhop, *or* Dean *of a* Cathedral, *or Collegiate* Church (*and they upon the King's days, and ſet* Feſtivals) *do take* Occaſion (*by the expounding of any* Text *of* Scripture *whatſoever*) *to fall into any ſet diſcourſe, or* Common-place, *otherwiſe than by opening the* Coherence, *and* Diviſion *of the* Text, *which ſhall not be comprehended, and warranted, in* Eſſence, Subſtance, Effect, *or natural inference, within ſome one* of the Articles of Religion, *ſet forth* 1562. *Or in ſome of the* Homilies *ſet forth by* Authority *of the* Church *of* England. *Not only for a help for the* Non-preaching, *but withal for a* Pattern *and* Boundary (*as it were*) *for the preaching* Miniſters. *And for their further inſtructions for the performance hereof, that they forthwith, read over and peruſe diligently the ſaid Book of* Articles, *and the two books of* Homilies.

2. *That no* Parſon, Vicar, Curate, *or* Lecturer, *ſhall preach any* Sermon *or* Collation *hereafter upon* Sundays, *and* Holy-days *in the afternoon, in any* Cathedral, *or pariſh* Church, *throughout the Kingdom, but upon ſome part of the* Catechiſm, *or ſome Text taken out of the Creed, ten Commandments, or the* Lords *Prayer* (Funeral Sermons only excepted) *and that thoſe* Preachers *be moſt encouraged, and approved of, who ſpend the afternoons*

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noons exercise, in the examination of children in their Catechism, which is the most ancient, and Laudable custom of teaching in the Church of England.

3. That no Preacher of what Title soever under the Degree of a Bishop, or Dean, at the least, do from Henceforth presume to preach in any Popular Auditory the deep points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation, or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility of God's Grace, but leave those Themes rather to be handled by the learned Men, and that moderately and Modestly, by way of use and application, rather than by way of Positive, Doctrines, being fitter for the Schools then for simple Auditories.

4. That no Preacher of what Title or Denomination soever, from henceforth shall presume in any Auditory within this Kingdom to declare, limit, or bound out, by way of Positive Doctrine in any Lecture, or Sermon, the Power, Prerogative, and Jurisdiction, Authority, or Duty of Soveraign Princes, or otherwise meddle with Matters of State, and the differences between Princes, and the People, then as they are instructed, and Precedented in the Homilies of Obedience, and the rest of the Homilies, and Articles of Religion, set forth (as before is mentioned) by publick Authority, but rather confine themselves wholly, to those two heads of Faith, and Good life, which are all the subject of the ancient Sermons, and Homilies.

5. That no Preacher of what Title or Denomination soever, shall presume causelesly; or (without invitation from the Text) fall into bitter invectives, and undecent railing speeches against the Persons of either Papists, or Puritans, but modestly, and gravely, when they are occasioned thereunto, by the Text of Scripture, free both the Doctrine, and the Discipline of the Church of England, from the aspersions of either adversary; especially where the Auditory is Suspected to be tainted with the One, or the other infection.

6. Lastly, that the Arch-Bishops, and Bishops of the Kingdom (whom his Majesty hath good cause to blame for this former remissness) be more wary, and choice in their licensing of Preachers, and revoke all Grants made to any Chancellor, Official, or Commissary, to pass Licences in this kind. And that all the Lecturers throughout the Kingdom of England (a new Body severed from the ancient Clergy, as being neither Parsons, Vicars, nor Curates) be licensed henceforward in the Court of Faculties, but only, from a Recommendation of the Party, from the Bishop of the Diocess under his hand and seal, with a Fiat from the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, a Confirmation under the great Seal of England. And that such as do transgress any one of these Directions, be suspended by the Bishop of the Diocess, or in his default by the Arch-Bishop of the Province, ab officio & beneficio, for a Year and a Day, until his Majesty by the advice of the next Convocation, shall prescribe some further punishment.

These

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The *Directions* the *Archbiſhop* recommended to his ſeveral *Dioceſans*, that they might be put in execution with *caution*. And then may be obſerved that the King's affections tended to the *peaceable comportment* of his people, that both *Papiſt* and *Puritan* might have a quiet *being*; which preponderation of *His* puts them in *Æqui-librio*, nay, the *Papiſt* was in the *prime Scale*. But this new thing called a *Lecturer*, he could by no means endure, unleſs he paſt through all the *Briers* of his ſeveral Courts to the *Broad Seal*, which was a kind of pungent *Ordeal Tryal*, to which he muſt put his *Teſte me ipſo*, and then it was *Orthodox*; ſo that though *Lecturers* were not abſolutely forbidden, yet the *charge* and trouble to come to it, made the way inacceſſible. *Preachers* by an *Order of Star-chamber* in *Heaven* were firſt *licenſed*, with an *Ite, prædicate*, before *Henry* the *Eighth*'s time; and certainly they have a great *Seal* from thence for what they do: Therefore it behoves them to take heed what they ſay, leſt that *Spirit* they receive *Directions* from *bind* them not up.

Obſervations upon the Directions.

But this *Animoſity* of the *King*'s againſt *Puritans*, was thought to be fomented by the *Papiſts*, whoſe *Agent* Biſhop *Laud* was ſuſpected to be, though in *Religion* he had a *Motley form* by himſelf, and would never (as a *Prieſt* told me plainly in *Flanders*) bring his neck under the *obedience* of the *Roman Yoak*, though he might ſtickle for the grandure of the *Clergy*. And now he began to be *Buckingham*'s *Confeſſor* (as he expreſſeth in his own *Notes*) and wore the *Court Livery*, though the King had a ſufficient *character* of him, and was pleaſed with *Aſſeveration* to *proteſt* his incentive *Spirit* ſhould be kept under, that the flame ſhould not break out by any *Preferment* from him. But that was now forgotten, and he crept ſo into favour, that he was thought to be the *Bellows* that blew theſe Fires. For the *Papiſts* uſed all the *Artifices* they could to make a *breach* between the King and his People, that they might enter at the ſame for their own Ends: which to accompliſh, they ſlily cloſe with the chief miniſters of *State*, to put the King upon all his *Projects* and *Monopolies*, diſpleaſing to the *people*, that they might the more *Alienate* their *Affections* from him: Sowing their *ſeeds* of *Diviſion* alſo betwixt *Puritan* and *Proteſtant*; ſo that (like the ſecond *Commandment*) they quite exclude the *Proteſtant*; For all thoſe were *Puritans* with this *high-grown-Arminian-popiſh party*, that held in *judgment the Doctrine of the Reformed Churches*, or in *practice* live according to the *Doctrine* publickly taught in the *Church of England*. And they attribute the *name of Proteſtant*,

Papiſts the fomenters.

1. To ſuch *Papiſts* as either out of *policy*, or by *popiſh indulgence*, hold outward *Communion* with the *Church* of *England*.

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2. To ſuch *Proteſtants*, as were either tainted with, or inclinable to their opinions.

3. To indifferent *Men*, who imbrace always that *Religion* that ſhall be commanded by *Authority*. Or,

4. To ſuch *Neutrals* as care for no *Religion*, but ſuch as ſtands with their own liking: ſo that they allow the *Church* of *England* the *Refuſe* both of their *Religion*, and *Ours*.

Regians and Republicans.

Then they ſtrive to make a *Diviſion* of *Regians* and *Republicans*; The *Regians* are the great *Dependents* upon the *Crown*, both in *Church* and *State*, who *ſwell* up the *Prerogative*, preaching and diſtilling into the King, the *Almightineſs* of his *power*. That all that the *People* hath is the *King*'s, and that it is by his *mercy* they have a bare empty *Being*. And this hoiſting up of the King they knew would ſtir up the *Republicans* to oppoſe him in his *Deſigns*, by which they pinch (as the King thinks) his *Prerogative*; feeding a ſtrife, betwixt *Law* and *Prerogative*, whereby they eſcape the *Dint* of both, and hope the fire they kindle will break out at *laſt* to conſume their *Adverſaries*. That theſe things were acted and fomented by *Papiſts*, was very *probable*, for they were great *Sticklers* about the *Court* and *Council-Table*. But it was too apparent that ſome of the Clergy (to make their way the ſmoother to their wiſhed end) began ſo to adore the King, that he could not be named but more reverence was done to it than to the *Name of God*; And the *Judges* in their *itinerant Circuits* (the more to enſlave the people to *Obedience*) being to ſpeak of the King, would give him ſuch *Sacred* and *Oraculous Titles*, as if their advancement to higher places, muſt neceſſarily be laid upon the *foundation* of the *peoples* debaſement.

On the other ſide: The well affected to *Religion* (that knew no other inclination than the *Dictates* of their own *Reaſon*, experiences of former times, and the conſtant *practices* of the *Romaniſts* for propagating their own deſigns) did by their writings and diſcourſes, ſtrive to warm the King's cold temper, and put freſh *ſpirits* into his *chilled veins*; ſhewing the *Tyranny* of the incroaching *Monarchy* of the *Houſe of Auſtria* (who was *Rome*'s great *Factor*) and how juſt and ſecure the oppoſing of ſuch a growing *power* will be; That no *Sword* is ſo *ſharp*, nor *Arm's* ſo ſtrong, as thoſe that are *cemented* with true *Religion*. The ſecurity of *Conſcience*, grounded upon the *Word of Truth*, being not only a *Bulwark* to defend, but the beſt *Engin* to oppoſe *Idolatry* and *Ambition*. Thus ſtood the Kingdom divided in it ſelf.

The King active in the Treaty.

But as the King ſtrove (after this *Rupture* betwixt him and the *Parliament*) to ſettle things at home, and keep his *people* in *obedience*, ſo he was as active abroad to keep up his own *Reputation*: For he made a full account to ſalve up all theſe *miſ-*

carriages

carriages, by the intended *Match* with *Spain*, that his *people* might ſee he could diſcern further into the intrinſical matters of *State* than they, and ſo make the *Error* theirs. Therefore he plied it by his *Ambaſſadors* and *Agents*, and all indulgences to *Recuſants* were admitted to ſweeten their *Addreſſes*. The Lord *Vaux*, a *Papiſt*, had freedom to tranſport four thouſand Engliſh, to reinforce the King of *Spain*'s *Armies*, both againſt our King's *Confederates* of *Holland* (under whoſe *protection* his baniſhed *Children* had refuge) and againſt their *Country* it ſelf the *Palatinate*, which the King ſo much endeavoured to preſerve.

The *Articles of Marriage* had taken up much time in debate, between the Commiſſioners of the two Kings, before they could be brought to any *form*, and the principal *Articles* (that concerned *Religion*) had many various *ſhapes* put upon them, till they were dreſt to their minds: And when they were fitted and faſhioned by them, the *Pope* ſtript them naked, and put upon them what *Garment* they pleaſed; He hath his *Index expurgatorius* in every thing. And to dead our King's hopes, the *Pope* urges, *Quod Eccleſiaſtici nullis legibus ſubjaceant, niſi ſuorum ſuperiorum Eccleſiaſticorum*, That the *Eccleſiaſticks* ſhould be ſubject to no Laws, but what they brought along with them, which gave liberty to do what they pleaſed, and to be puniſhed for their ill doing how they pleaſed. *That the children of the Infanta* might be brought up in the *Popiſh Religion*, *Uſque ad Annos nubiles*, till it be well rooted in them. And that ſhe might have a publick *Church* in the *City* for all *comers*, beſides her *Chappel* in the *Court*, which extended to little leſs than an open *Toleration*. Some other *Rubs* the *Pope* threw in the way, which the King ſtumbled at, not being in the *Articles* treated on betwixt him and the King of *Spain*, which He inſiſts on to that King, diſclaims any *Treaty* with the *Pope*, though his *Agent Gage* made daily addreſſes to him, by Cardinal *Bandino* with whom *Our King* held *correſpondence*. And He requires the Lord *Digby* in *Spain* to preſs that King to a final *Reſolution*, that he might provide ſome other *Match* for his Son, if this ſhould not ſucceed: For (ſaith He) *We have in a manner already done that which is deſired, as all the Roman Catholicks have found; which if the Pope had known, it is to be preſumed, he would not ſo much have inſiſted upon theſe points.* And the ſending, and reſending, betwixt *Spain* and *Rome*, and *Rome* and *Spain* *ſpends time, and may ſerve for a colour to draw the Treaty in infinitum.* But yet willing he was to have ſome *Anchor-hold* for his hopes; for in the ſame Letter, he ſaith, *Nevertheleſs if you find it a thing impoſſible for them to reſolve without a reply to* Rome, *and that they do earneſtly deſire it; We are contented that you ſhall yield them two months time, after your Audience, and longer we cannot expect.*

The Articles of marriage long a ſetling.

Quo ſimel eſt imbuta Recens ſervabit odorem Teſta diu:——

Our King's Reſolution.

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These *Resolutions* were sent *Post* into *Spain*, inclosed in this following Letter, which is very necessary to be inserted here, though taken from Mr. *Prin*'s Collection, who had this and others among the Lord *Cottington*'s Papers (a great *Agent* afterwards in the *Spanish Affairs*) and are the bitter Kernel, preserved by *Cottington*, when the *Shell* of the *Treaty* was broken.

Sent to *Digby* in *Spain*.

RIght Trusty, &c. *Your dispatch of the ninth of* August *gave Us so much* Contentment, *and so great* Hopes *of* Satisfaction, *in all those* Businesses, *which you have there to Treat with that King, as we could not expect any further* Difficulties; *Notwithstanding by that which hath come to* Our *hands immediately after, as well by* George Gage *from* Rome, *as by our* Ambassador, *Sir* Richard Weston *at* Bruxels, *and* Our Ministers *in the* Palatinate; *We find that neither the* Dispensation *is granted for the* Match, *nor the* Treaty *of* Cessation *so near a* conclusion, *as We conceived it would have been, now that the* Auxiliaries *and all other* Obstacles *are removed. But on the contrary side, that new delays and excuses are invented,* Our Garisons *in the* Palatinate *in the mean time blocked up,* Heidelburg *it self* Actually *besieged. Which proceeding, though* Our Ambassador *hath expostulated with the* Infanta *and the* Commissioners, *as injurious to Us, and ill beseeming their* Professions *hitherto, yet is there not that readiness shewed to give Us such contentment therein as We might justly* expect, *but* Answers *still protracted, and put off, for advantage; whilst* Our Forces *there remain in great* Distress, *and the* Town *and* Castle *of* Heidelburg *likely in a few* Daies *to be lost, for it cannot hold out long, as We are informed. This dealing seems the more strange unto Us, for that the late Dispatch of the King of* Spain *was (before the news of the* Siege, *and that* Our Ambassador *had propounded any thing concerning it) come unto the* Infanta. *But because you shall be particularly informed of the whole carriage of the business, We have given order that copies shall be sent you of all the Dispatch, and then you shall see how these proceedings agree with the* Hopes *and* Promises *which are given Us from thence.*

Spanish jugling.

Hereupon therefore Our pleasure is, *That you shall immediately and with as much speed as you may, crave* Audience *of that* King, *and represent unto him the* merit *which We may justly challenge unto* Our self, *for* Our sincere proceedings *with the* Emperor, *and* Him, *in all the course of this business, notwithstanding the many invitations and temptations, which We have had, to engage* Our self *on* Our Son-in-law's *part. That We have had both from the* Emperor *and him hopes given Us from time to time, of extraordinary* Respect, *howsoever* Our Son-in-law *had deserved, which We have attended, and expected even to the very last with much* Patience, *and* in despight (*as it were*) of all the opposition that hath been



All fleſh is Graſs, the beſt men vanity;
This, but a ſhadow, here before thine eye,
Of him, whoſe wondrous changes clearly ſhow,
That GOD, not men, ſwayes all things here below.

been made to ſhake our Reſolution in that behalf. *If now when all impediments are removed, and that the way is ſo prepared, as that the* Emperor *may give an* end *unto the* War, *and make ſome preſent demonſtration of his* Reſpects *towards us, in leaving Us the* Honour *of holding thoſe poor* places, *which yet remain quietly, and peaceably, until the general accommodation, the ſame ſhall nevertheleſs be violently taken from Us, what can We look for when the whole ſhall be in his* hands *and* poſſeſſion? *who amuſing Us with a Treaty of* Ceſſation, *and protracting it induſtriouſly (as We have* reaſon *to believe) doth in the mean time ſeize himſelf of the* whole Country; *which being done,* Our Ambaſſador *ſhall return with* Scorn, *and We remain with* Diſhonour.

I ſhall not need to furniſh you with Arguments *for the unfolding and laying open this unfriendly* Dealing *more plainly unto them; your own* Reaſon *and* obſervation *will find enough out of the* Diſpatches, *whereof Copies are ſent unto you; as namely, the withdrawing of the Spaniſh forces, and leaving the* buſineſs *wholly in the hands of the* Emperor *and the Duke of* Bavaria; *The* Style *of the* Infanta *in anſwering* Our Ambaſſador *with* Recriminations, *which was not her manner heretofore; The ſleight and frivolous anſwer given by the Marqueſs of* Bedmar *unto* Our Ambaſſador, *when he acquainted him with the* Siege *of* Heidelburg: *The* quarrellous *occaſion taken by the* Emperor *for calling the* Diet *at* Ratisbone, *contrary to his own promiſe, which in his diſpatch to Us he confeſſeth to have broken, as you will ſee by the Copy. All which, and many more, which your* own judgment (*in the peruſal of the* Diſpatches) *will ſuggeſt unto you do miniſter unto Us cauſe ſufficient of* jealouſie *on the* Emperor's *part, as you ſhall plainly tell that King, although We will not do him that wrong as to miſtruſt, that* He *gives the leaſt* conſent *to it. In this* confidence, *with much earneſtneſs, We ſhall ſtill ſolicit him, that for the affection he bears us, and the deſire which We ſuppoſe he hath, that there may continue for ever a perfect* Amity *betwixt Us, and the whole* Houſe *of* Auſtria, *he will not ceaſe to do all good Offices herein; letting him know directly, that in theſe terms We cannot ſtand with the* Emperor, *but that if* Heidelburg *be* won, *or the* Siege *continue, or the* Ceſſation *be long unneceſſarily delayed, We muſt recall* Our Ambaſſador *from* Bruxels, *and treat no more, as We have already given* order, *hoping that whatſoever unkindneſs We ſhall conceive againſt the* Emperor *upon theſe* occaſions, *it ſhall not be interpreted to reflect in any ſort upon the entire affection that is at this preſent, and as We hope ſhall always continue betwixt* Us *and the* Crown *of* Spain. *And therefore as we have heretofore ſundry times promiſed, in teſtimony of the* ſincerity *of* Our proceedings, *and of* Our *great* Deſire *to preſerve the* Amity *inviolable, between* Us, *and the* whole Houſe of Auſtria; *That in caſe* Our Son-in-law *would not be governed by Us, that then we would not only forſake him, but take part, and joyn* Our forces *with the* Emperor *againſt*

Auſtrian juggling.

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againſt him. ſo you may fairly repreſent unto that King, that in like manner, we have Reaſon *to expect the ſame* Meaſure *from him, that (upon the* Emperor's *averſeneſs to a* Ceſſation, *and* Accommodation) *he will likewiſe* Actually *aſſiſt* Us, *for the* Recovery *of the* Palatinate, *and* Electoral Dignity, *unto* Our *Son-in-law, as it hath been often times intimated from* Spain.

To conclude, *We ſhall not need to ſay any more unto you, touching this* Point; *but to let you ſee, that* Our *meaning is to carry all things* fair *with that* King, *and not to give him any cauſe of* Diſtruſt, *or jealouſie; if you perceive that they intend to go really and roundly on with the* Match. *Wherein nevertheleſs we muſt tell you that* we *have no great* Cauſe *to be well pleaſed with the* Diligences *uſed on that part, when* we *obſerve that after ſo long an expectance of the* Diſpenſation, *upon which the whole* buſineſs (*as they will have it*) *depends, there is nothing yet returned but* Queries *and* Objections. *Yet becauſe* we *will not give over* Our Patience, *a while longer, until* we *underſtand more certainly what the effect thereof is like to be; wherein* we *require you to be very* Wary, *and watchful, conſidering how* Our Honour *is therein ingaged; we have thought fit to let you know, how far we are pleaſed to inlarge* Our ſelf *concerning thoſe* points *demanded by the* Pope, *and ſet down by way of Poſtil unto the* Articles *agreed upon, betwixt* Spain *and* Us, *as you ſhall ſee by the* Power, *which* Gage *brought* Us *from* Rome, *whereof* we *have ſent you a* Copy, *and our* Reſolutions *thereupon* Signed *with* our *own hand, for your warrant, and* Inſtruction. *And further then that ſince* we *cannot go, without much prejudice, inconvenience, and diſhonour to* our ſelf, *and* our *Son,* we *hope and expect the King of* Spain *will bring it inſtantly to an iſſue, without further delay, which you are to preſs with all* Diligence, *and earneſtneſs; that you may preſently know their final* Reſolution, *and what* we *may expect thereupon. But if any* Reſpit *of time be earneſtly demanded, and that you perceive it not poſſible for them to reſolve until an anſwer come from* Rome, we *then think it fit that you give them two* Months *time after your* Audience, *that* we *may underſtand that King's final* Reſolution, *before* Chriſtmas *next at the furtheſt.*

Wanſted. 9. *Sept.* 1622.

The King abuſed.

This Letter doth not only diſcover the ſhuffling, and Fox-like contrivances of the *Houſe* of *Auſtria* to *Work*, and *Earth* themſelves in the *Palatinate*, but alſo the *ſcorns*, and reproaches put upon *Our King*, and (if I may ſo call them) his *Terriers*, who (with little *Bayings* only) let them work, till they had got into their *Faſtneſſes*, and ſtrong holds, and then they may *Bay* at leiſure, and blame their lazy Belief. But notwithſtanding *our King* threatens in his Letter, if *Heidelberg* be loſt, and the *Ceſſation* delayed, he will Treat no more, yet the *Deſire* of the *Match* was ſo radicated in his Heart, that neither the loſs of *Hei-*

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Heidleberg, or *Manheim* that ſucceeded it, nor the blocking up of *Frankendale* (the laſt ſtrong hold of his Son-in-laws Inheritance) could *Mortifie* his *Hopes*. But as the *Emperor* beſieged theſe Towns with his *Armies*, ſo he beſet the King of *Spain* with his Treaties. And the Lord *Digby* though quickned by this *Letter*, did not lay open the cunning carriage of theſe *contrivers* (which tended to root out the reformed *Religion* in *Germany*) nor preſs home theſe particulars as he was injoined but only let the King of *Spain* know, *That his late Father, by the advice of his Eccleſiaſticks in* Spain, *had conſented to the Articles of Marriage, in matters of Religion, five months ſince, yet there were demurs upon thoſe points, notwithſtanding that the King of* Great Britain *complied in all things, then demanded particularly, what he would do in favour of the Catholicks*; But now after two years time, the *Pope* of his own *Accord* (without any intimation to *Spain*) had ſent directly for *England*, propounding to the King his *Maſter*, not only many alterations in the *Capitulations* (before a *Diſpenſation* could be granted) but intruded ſomething new, which the *King* would by no means yield unto: wherefore to expedite the *Buſineſs* (the King having neglected all other *Treaties* of marriage for his Son theſe ſix years paſt, only in reſpect of this Treaty) he is commanded to declare plainly to the King of *Spain*, how far the King his Maſter may condeſcend in matters of *Religion*, and if that will give content, to proceed to a concluſion of the *Marriage*, without more *Delays*, (ſeeing he hath yielded to much more than was capitulated in the late King of *Spain*'s time) if this will not ſatisfie, that then without loſs of more time, the King his Maſter may diſpoſe of his Son, and the King of *Spain* of the *Infanta* as they pleaſe.

Digby faulty.

Theſe things were ruminated on by the ſlow paced *Spaniſh* gravity, and fair, and plauſible anſwers preſented, that like fruits of *Diſſimulation* gave but ſmall *Nouriſhment* to hope, yet it kept it alive, (though in a drooping *condition*) and it was only ſuſtained till they could bring their ends about. Which our King now ſuſpecting (as he had good cauſe) from the conſtant intelligences given him, of the diminution of his own *Forces* in the *Palatinate*, and the *Growing* ſtrength of the Enemy, He diſpatches this ſecond *Letter* to the *Baron Digby* to let the King of *Spain* know how ſenſible *he* was of being abuſed, and how loath he was to ſee it.

2. Letter to *Digby*.

RIght Truſty, *&c. There is none better knoweth than your ſelf, how* we *have laboured, ever ſince the beginning of theſe unfortunate* Troubles *of the* Empire (*notwithſtanding all* oppoſition to the contrary) *to merit well of* our *good* Brother, *the King of* Spain, *and the whole* Houſe *of* Auſtria, *by a long and lingering* Patience, *grounded*

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grounded still upon his friendship, and promises, that Care should be had of our Honour, and of our Childrens Patrimony, and Inheritance: We have acquainted you also from time to time, since the beginning of the Treaty at Bruxels, how crossly all things have there proceeded, notwithstanding all the fair Professions made unto us, both by the King of Spain, and the Infanta, and all his Ministers, and the letters written by him unto the Emperor, and them Effectually, at least (as they endeavoured to make us believe,) but what fruits have we of all these? Whil'st we are Treating, the Town and Castle of Heidelberg are taken by force, our Garison put to the Sword, Manheim besieged, and all the Hostility used that is in the power of an Enemy, as you may see by the Relation, which we have commanded our Secretary to send you. Our pleasure therefore is, that you immediately, as soon you can get Audience, let that King understand, how sensible we are of these Proceedings of the Emperor towards us, and withall, are not a little troubled to see, that the Infanta (having an absolute Commission to conclude a Cessation, and suspension of Arms) should now at last when all Objections were answered, and the former (solely) pretended Obstacles removed, not only delay the conclusion of the Treaty, but refuse to lay her Command upon the Emperor's Generals to abstain from the Siege of our Garisons during the Treaty, upon a Pretext of want of Authority: so as for avoiding of further Dishonour, we have been forced to recall both our Ambassadors, as well the Chancellor of our Exchequer (who is already returned to our Presence, as also the Lord Chichester, whom we intended to have sent unto the Emperor, to the Diet at Ratisbone.) Seeing therefore that meerly out of Our extraordinary Respect to the King of Spain, and the firm Confidence We ever put in the Hopes and promises, which He did give Us (desiring nothing more then for his Cause principally to avoid all occasions that might put Us in ill understanding with any of the House of Austria) We have hitherto proceeded with a stedfast patience, trusting to the Treaties, and neglecting all other means, which probably might have secured the Remainder of Our Childrens inheritance (these Garisons which We maintained in the Palatinate, being rather for Honour sake, to keep a footing until the general accommodation, then that we did rely so much upon their strength, as upon his friendship) and by this Confidence and Security of Ours, are now exposed to Dishonour and Reproach. You shall tell that King, that seeing all those endeavours and good offices, which he hath used towards the Emperor in this business, on the behalf of Our Son-in-law (upon confidence whereof that security of Ours depended, which he continually by his Letters and Ministers here laboured to beget and confirm in Us) have not sorted to any other issue, than to a plain abuse, both of his trust, and Ours, whereby We are both of Us highly injured in Our Honour, though in a different Degree; We hope, and desire, that out of a true sence of this

Gondemar's Master-piece.

this Wrong *offered unto Us, he will as* Our dear and loving Brother, *faithfully promiſe, and undertake upon his* Honour, *(confirming the ſame alſo under his Hand and Seal) either that the Town and Caſtle of* Heidelberg, *ſhall within Threeſcore and ten dayes after your* Audience, *and Demand made, be rendred into* Our hands, *with all things therein belonging to* Our Son in law, *or* Our Daughter *(as near as may be in the* State *they were, when they were taken) and the like for* Manheim, *and* Frankendale, *if both or either of them ſhall be taken by the* Enemy, *while theſe things are in Treaty: As alſo that there ſhall be within the ſaid* Term of ſeventy daies *a* Ceſſation *and* Suſpenſion *of* Arms *in the* Palatinate *for the* future, *upon the ſeveral* Articles *and* Conditions *laſt propounded by* Our Ambaſſadour *Sir* Richard Weſton, *and that the general Treaty ſhall be ſet afoot again, upon ſuch* Honourable Terms *and* Conditions, *as We propounded unto the* Emperour *in a Letter written unto him in* November *laſt, and with which the King of* Spain *then (as We underſtood) ſeemed ſatisfied. Or elſe in caſe all theſe* Particulars *be not yielded unto, and performed by the* Emperour, *as is here propounded, but be refuſed or delayed, beyond the time aforementioned: That then the King of* Spain *do joyn his Forces with* Ours *for the* Recovery *of* Our Childrens Honours *and* Patrimony, *which upon this Truſt hath been thus loſt: Or if ſo be his* Forces *at this* preſent *be otherwiſe ſo imployed as that they cannot give Us that aſſiſtance which We here deſire, and (as We think) have deſerved, yet that at the leaſt He will permit Us a free and friendly paſſage through his Territories, and* Dominions, *for ſuch* Forces *as We ſhall ſend and imploy in* Germany *for his* Service. *Of all which diſtinctively, if you receive not from the King of* Spain *(within ten daies at the furtheſt after your* Audience*) a direct* Aſſurance *under his Hand and Seal, without* Delay, *or putting Us off to further Treaties and* Conferences: *That is to ſay, of ſuch* Reſtitution, Ceſſation of Arms, *and proceeding to a* General Treaty, *as is before* mentioned; *or elſe of aſſiſtance, and joyning his Forces with* Ours, *againſt the* Emperour; *or at the leaſt, permiſſion of* paſſage *for* Our *Forces through his, the ſaid* King's Dominions; *that then you take your leave, and return to* Our Preſence, *without further ſtay; Otherwiſe to proceed in the* Negotiation *for the Marriage of* Our Son, *according to the Inſtructions We have given you.*

This Letter was dated the Third of *October*. And preſently after it was ſent away, the King recollected himſelf, and thought it good *Policy* to make ſome advantage of this *Breach* with *Spain* (if there were One) by letting his People ſee, he would no longer wait the *Spaniſh Delayes*; (which they were impatient enough of) therefore his *Ambaſſadours* (to hinder the knowledge of it at home) muſt conceal the Breach abroad, ſtay ſtill in the *Spaniſh Court*, as if the Buſineſs were in full *Motion*,

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and ripe for projection; And he must break it to pieces here himself, to make it the more acceptable; either to get the more *love* or *money* from the *people*, or for what other intention is unknown. But the very next day he sends this further *Direction* by *Endimion Porter*.

3. Letter to *Digby*.

RIght Trusty, &c. *We have given you certain* Instructions, *signed with Our hand, to direct you how to express unto the King of* Spain *the feeling We have of the* Dishonour *put upon Us by the* Emperour, *through* Our Trust *and* Confidence *in that King's* Promises, *wherein you have* Order *to come away without further delay, in case you receive not* Satisfaction *to your* Demands, *in such sort as We have Commanded you to propound them.* Nevertheless, *We are to put you in remembrance of that which We have heretofore told you, in case a* Rupture *happen between the King of* Spain *and Us, that We would be glad to manage it at Our best advantage. And therefore however you do not find the* Satisfaction, *which We in those* Instructions *crave from the King of* Spain, *and have* Reason *to expect; yet would* We *not have you instantly come away upon it, but advertise Us first, letting Us know privately (if you find such cause) that there is no good to be done, nor no* Satisfaction *as you judge intended Us,* (though Publikely, *and* Outwardly you give out the contrary) *that We may make use thereof with* Our People *in* Parliament, *as We shall hold best for* Our *Service. And this see you do, notwithstanding any thing in your other* Instructions *to the contrary. Dated* 4. *Octob.* 1622.

Our King's patience.

The King in the first of these two Letters gives Thirty dayes more to the King of *Spain*, to repent of his bad dealing with him, then was given to the great City, and yet he repented not. And this *Positive* Command (limiting but ten daies after *Audience* for a *Resolution* in these *Points*,) one would have thought should have produced an absolute *Breach*, or a perfect *Conclusion*. But the *Spaniard* continues in his old pace still, and would not be spurr'd up, and *Digby* (now made Earl of *Bristol* for his good Service) whistles after him his *Old Note* still, assuring *Our King*, That the King of *Spain* (though slow) was real in his Intentions. And if *Our King* had not had a great good stomach to the Match, he would never have digested this dealing from a *Brother* and a *Servant*, the *Pope* also at the same time giving him a Bit to chew on, interpreting the *Articles* where the *Children of Marriage* were to be brought *up, usque ad annos nubiles*, to be fourteen years old, which *Our King* would not consent to, in respect of the *Scandal* it might produce. For he knew impressions in Youth setled by *Custome*, are not easie to remove, especially where they make *Dints* upon the *Conscience*; therefore he pressed the King of *Spain*, that the *children*



The right Honorable John Digby Earle of Bristol Baron of Shirborne, Vice Chamberlaine to his Ma^te^. and one of the Lords of his Maiesties most Honorable privy Counsell: and Embassador extraordinary to the high and Mightie Philip the fourth king of Spaine.

Are to be Sould by William Peake.



IOANNES THERCLÆS Comes de Tilli.

dren might not ſuck in their *Mothers* inſtructions ſo long time, being leſs for his *Honour*: and they with much importunity, brought it down from fourteen to ten, and there they *ſtuck*. *Our King* expreſſed himſelf willing to have them brought up *ſub regimine matris*, for ſeven years, and that time ſhould be limited in the *publique Capitulations*, but if more time were inſiſted on by the *Pope*, *He would oblige himſelf privately by a Letter to the King of* Spain, that they ſhall be under their Mother's *Regiment* for two years longer. And ſeeing there is but one year more that is betwixt them, the King in another Letter to the Earl of *Briſtol* tells him, That if *they would not be contented with nine, he would not ſtick to give them another year.*

Dated *New-Market* 24. Novem. 1622.

While they were thus Wire-drawing, time ſpun out, *Manheim* the chief Strength and Fortreſs in the *Palatinate* was taken by *Tilly* the *Emperour's General*, whereof Sir *Horatio Vere* was Commander, ſurrendred upon honourable *Conditions*, having neither ſtrength of *Men*, or means to reſiſt an Enemy. *Heidelberg* before it (as the King expreſſed) was taken by Aſſault, Sir *Gerard Herbert* the Commander of the Caſtle ſlain, after he had repulſed the Enemy from the Aſſault, breaking ſix *Pikes* upon them with his own hand. And now *Tilly* (Winter comeing on) greedy to finiſh his work, ſits down before *Frankendale*, whereof Major *Burrowes* had the *Command*, a man of as much valour and experience, as *Time* the *Director*, and *Spirit* the *Actor* could make a man capable of. But all this, and the Strength of the Town to boot could not have protected them, (their Wants being ſtronger than their Enemy) if *Tilly* had not been drowned up in his Trenches, which forced his remove.

The *Palat.* loſt.

And though *Our King* ſaid in his laſt Anſwer to the *Parliament's Petition*, That the *Enemy* would have ſwallowed up his Forces in the *Palatinate* in eight daies, if my Lord *Digby* had not ſuccoured it; yet the weakeſt of the three Places, which is *Heidelberg*, was not taken in a moment; for *Tilly* in *June* laſt ſet down before it, and was conſtrained to raiſe his Siege, being not ſtrong enough; and coming again with a greater Power in the end of *July* following, he was there above two moneths before he took ſo much as any of their Out-Works. And *Manheim*, and *Frankendale* are two ſuch ſtrong Holds, that if they had been well furniſhed with Men and Proviſions, they might have ſtood out againſt *Tilly*, nay the great *Turk*, as well, if not better than *Vienna* the *Imperial City*.

The *Palatinate* a ſtrong Countrey.

As ſoon as the *King* had notice of the taking of *Manheim*, he gives *Briſtol* intimation of it, and was very well ſatisfied of the King of *Spain*'s good intentions for the Relief of it, though *Order* ſent to the *Infanta* arrived not there till the Town was ſurrendred. Which was the old *Spaniſh plot* of *Philip* the Second

Our King ſatisfied of *Spaines* good intentions.

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to get *Portugal* into his hand, wherein he cheated the *Pope* himself, delaying his solicitations, by his *Legate*, *Cardinal Riario* (for *Don Antonio Bastard* of *Portugal*) with specious and pleasing entertainments, till he had gotten the Castle of St. *Julians*, the greatest strength of the Kingdom (then besieged by him) into his *power*. And yet our King looked upon this *Apparition* as *Real*, and thanked the King of *Spain* for the good he never intended.

Articles of Marriage.

And now the *Articles* of *Marriage* that had been long hatching: flew up and down from hand to hand: The *French Historians* mention them: so doth Mr. *Pryn* in his hidden *Works of darkness*, as they were found among the Lord *Cottington*'s Papers. These came to me from the *Nest*, and I have kept them till this time, and comparing them with other *Copies*, there is scarce a feather amiss. Nor should they have *pestered* this *paper*, but to shew what great *pains* was taken to little purpose, what Huge pretences shouldred in to make way for the *Spanish Designs*, which at last dwindled to nothing.

The Articles are these.

1. *That the* Marriage *be made by* Dispensation *of the* Pope, *but that to be procured by the endeavour of the King of* Spain.

2. *That the* Marriage *be once celebrated in* Spain, *and Ratified in* England, *in form following. In the morning, after the most gracious* Infanta *hath ended her* Devotions *in the* Chappel, She *and the most excellent* Prince Charles, *shall meet in the* King's Chappel, *or in some other Room of the* Palace, *where it shall seem most expedient: and there shall be read all the* Procurations, *by* Virtue *whereof the* Marriage *was celebrated in* Spain. *And as well the most excellent* Prince, *as the most excellent* Infanta *shall ratifie the said* Marriage *celebrated in* Spain, *with all* Solemnity *necessary to such an Act, so as no* Ceremony, *or other thing intervene, which shall be contrary to the* Roman-Catholik-Apostolik-Religion.

3. *That the* Gracious Infanta *shall take with* Her such Servants, *and* Family, *as are convenient for her service; which* Family, *and all* Persons *to her belonging, shall be chosen and nominated by the Catholik* King, *so as he nominate no* Servant *which is* Vassail *to the King of* Great Britain, *without his will and consent.*

4. *That as well the most gracious Lady* Infanta, *as all her* Servants *and* Family, *shall have free use and publique exercise of the* Roman Catholike Religion, *in manner and form, as is beneath* Capitulated.

The Pope extended this Article, *Habeat etiam Ecclesiam publicam Londini, &c.*

5. *That she shall have an* Oratory *and decent* Chappel *in her* Palace, *where, at the pleasure of the most* Gracious Infanta, Masses *may be celebrated, which* Oratory *or* Chappel *shall be adorned with such decencie, as shall seem convenient for the most gracious* Infanta; *with a publike Church in* London, *&c.*

6. *That*

6. *That the Men-ſervants and Maid-ſervants of the moſt Gracious* Infanta, *and their Servants, Children, and Deſcendents, and all their Families, of what ſort ſoever, ſerving her* Highneſs, *may be freely* Catholiks.

7. *That the moſt gracious* Infanta, *her Servants and Family, may be freely* Catholiks, *in form following.*

8. *That the moſt gracious* Infanta *may have in her* Palace *her* Oratory, *and* Chappel *ſo ſpacious, that her ſaid Servants and Family may enter and ſtay therein. In which there ſhall be an* ordinary *and publique door for them, and another inward door, by which the* Infanta *may have a paſſage into the ſaid* Chappel, *where ſhe, and others, as aboveſaid, may be preſent at Divine Offices.*

9. *That the* Chappel, Church, *and* Oratory, *may be beautified with decent* Ornaments, *of* Altar, *and other things neceſſary for Divine Service, which is to be celebrated in them, according to the cuſtom of the* Ho. Ro. Church; *and that it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid* Servants, *and others to go to the ſaid* Chappel *and* Church *at all hours as to them ſhall ſeem expedient.* Holy Roman Ch.

10. *That the* care *and* cuſtody *of the ſaid* Chappel *and* Church, *ſhall be committed to ſuch as the Lady* Infanta *ſhall appoint, to whom it ſhall be lawful to appoint* Keepers, *that no body may enter into them to do any undecent thing.*

11. *That to the adminiſtration of the* Sacraments, *and to ſerve in* Chappel *and* Church *aforeſaid, there ſhall be ſo many* Prieſts, *and* Aſſiſtants, *as to the* Infanta *ſhall ſeem fit, and the election of them ſhall belong to the Lady* Infanta, *and the* Catholike King *her* Brother. *Provided, that they be none of the* Vaſſals *of the King of* Great Britain; *and if they be, his will and conſent is to be firſt obtained.*

12. *That there be one* Superiour Miniſter *or* Biſhop, *with neceſſary* Authority *upon all occaſions which ſhall happen, belonging to* Religion; *and for want of a* Biſhop, *that his* Vicar *may have his* Authority *and* juriſdiction.

13. *That this* Biſhop *or* Superiour Miniſter *may correct, amend, or chaſtize all* Roman Catholiks *who ſhall offend, and ſhall exerciſe upon them all* Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical; *and moreover alſo, the Lady* Infanta *ſhall have power to put them out of her ſervice, when ſoever it ſhall ſeem expedient to her.*

13. *That it may be lawful for the Lady* Infanta *and her* Servants, *to procure from* Rome *Diſpenſations, Indulgences,* Jubilees, *and all* Graces, *as ſhall ſeem fit to their* Religion *and* Conſciences, *and to get and make uſe of any* Catholike Books *whatſoever.*

15. *That the* Servants *of the* Family *of the Lady* Infanta, *who ſhall come into* England, *ſhall take the* Oath *of* Allegiance *to the King of* Great Britain, *provided that there be no clauſe therein, which*

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which shall be contrary to their Consciences, *and the* Roman Catholike Religion; *and if they happen to be* Vassals *to the King of* Great Britain, *they shall take the same Oath that the* Spaniard *doth.*

16. *That the* Laws *which are or shall be in* England *against* Religion, *shall not take hold of the said* Servants. *And onely the foresaid* Superiour Ecclesiastical Catholike *may proceed against* Ecclesiastical *persons, as hath been accustomed by* Catholikes. *And if any* Secular Judge *shall apprehend any Ecclesiastical* Person *for any offence, he shall forthwith cause him to be delivered to the aforesaid* Superiour Ecclesiastick, *who shall proceed against him according to the Canon-Law.*

Repugn ant to the Coronation oath

17. *That the* Lawes *made against* Catholikes *in* England, *or in any other Kingdom of the King of* Great Britain, *shall not extend to the* Children *of this* Marriage; *and though they be* Catholikes, *they shall not lose the Right of* Succession *to the Kingdom and* Dominions *of* Great Britain.

18. *That the* Nurses *which shall give suck to the* Children *of the Lady* Infanta (*whether they be of the Kingdom of* Great Britain, *or of any other Nation whatsoever*) *shall be chosen by the Lady* Infanta, *as she pleaseth, and shall be accounted of her* Family, *and enjoy the priviledges thereof.*

19. *That the* Bishop, Ecclesiastical Persons, *and* Religious, *of the* Family *of the Lady* Infanta, *shall wear the* Vestment *and* Habit *of his* dignity, *profession and* Religion, *after the* custom *of* Rome.

20. *For security that the said* Matrimony *be not dissolved for any cause whatsoever; The King of* Great Britain *and Prince* Charles *are equally to pass the* Word *and* Honour *of a King: and moreover that they will perform whatsoever shall be propounded by the* Catholike *King for further confirmation, if it may be done decently and fitly.*

Notwithstanding a Roman Education

21. *That the Sons and Daughters which shall be born of this* Marriage, *shall be brought up in the company of the most Excellent* Infanta, *at least untill the Age of Ten years, and shall freely enjoy the Right of* Succession *to the Kingdoms as aforesaid.*

with a Roman Conformity

22. *That whensoever any place of either Man-servant, or Maid-servant, which the Lady* Infanta *shall bring with her (nominated by the* Catholike King *her* Brother) *shall happen to be void, whether by death, or by other Cause or accident, all the said* Servants *of her* Family *are to be supplied by the* Catholike King *as aforesaid.*

23. *For security that whatsoever is* Capitulated *may be fulfilled, The King of* Great Britain *and* Prince Charles, *are to be bound by* Oath, *and all the* King's Council *shall Confirm the said Treaty under their hands. Moreover the said* King *and* Prince *are to give their* Faiths *in the* Word *of a* King, *to endeavour, if possible, that whatsoever is* Capitulated, *may be established by* Parliament.

24. *That conformable to this Treaty, all these things proposed are to be allowed and approved of by the* Pope, *that he may give an* Apostolical Benediction, *and a* Dispensation *necessary to effect the Marriage.*

But

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But though *our King*, and *Prince*, ſubſcribed theſe *Articles* (as they were ſent to them by the Earl of *Briſtol*) in this manner; *Hos ſupra memoratos Articulos omnes ac ſingulos approbamus, et quicquid in iis ex noſtra parte, ſeu noſtro nomine conventum eſt, ratum atque gratum habemus*, approving and expreſſing them to be very acceptable unto them. And after they had wrought the *King* to ſign theſe large immunities to the *Papiſts*, *viz. Quod Regnorum ſuorum Romano Catholici perſecutionem nullam patientur, moleſtiáve officientur, Religionis ſuæ cauſa, vel ob exercitium illorum ejuſdem ſacramentorum, modò iis utantur abſque ſcandalo (quod intelligi debet inter privatos parietes) nec juramentis, aut ſub alio prætextu qualicunque ordinem Religionis ſpectante vexabuntur:* That the Roman Catholikes ſhould not be interrupted in the exerciſe of their *Religion*, doing it privately without *Scandal*, nor be vext with any oaths in order to the ſame. *What reſted but a cloſing of both Parties?* Yet all would not do, for the *Spaniard* never intended the *Match* at all, as is evident by a Letter of the King of *Spain's* written to his *Favourite*, the *Conde* of *Olivares*, dated the Fifth of *November*, 1622. found among the Lord *Cottington's Papers*.

Spaniſh deluſion.

THe King my Father declared at his Death, *That his intent never was to marry my* Siſter, *the* Infanta Donna Maria, *with the* Prince *of* Wales, *which your Unkle* Don Baltazer *underſtood, and ſo treated this Match, ever with intention to delay it, notwithſtanding it is now ſo far advanced, that (conſidering all the averſneſs of the* Infanta *to it) it is time to ſeek ſome means to divert the* Treaty, *which I would have you find out, and I will make it good whatſoever it be. But in all other things, procure the ſatisfaction of the King of Great* Britain *(who hath deſerved much) and it ſhall* content *me, ſo it be not in the* Match.

The King of *Spain's* letter to *Olivares*.

Thus was *our* King's plain heartedneſs deluded, his *Honour* blemiſhed, his *Love* among his *Subjects* diminiſhed, the time for a poſitive anſwer for the *Diſpenſation* from *Rome* long expired, and prolonged; his *Childrens Patrimony* deſtroyed, and he left ſo unſatisfied, that the *Prince* himſelf, and the *Marqueſs* of *Buckingham*, muſt go into *Spain* to unfold this *Riddle*, where they found it as full of *Ænigma's* as at firſt. He that went to tye a knot there, found it ſo intangled, that he took ſome time there to clear it; and when it was clear, he thought it beſt, *Scindere nodum*, to cut that at laſt, which he could not unlooſe at firſt.

The Marqueſs *Spinola* having long ſince left the *Palatinate* to the *Imperials Generals*, with a great *Army*, conſiſting of above Thirty thouſand men, the laſt *Summer* ſits down before *Berghen ap Zome*, a Town of very great Strength and Importance, upon the *Borders* of *Brabant*, and incloſes himſelf with two ſtrong Lines of *Circumvallation*, notwithſtanding all the *Power* the Town

Bergen beſieged by *Spinola*.

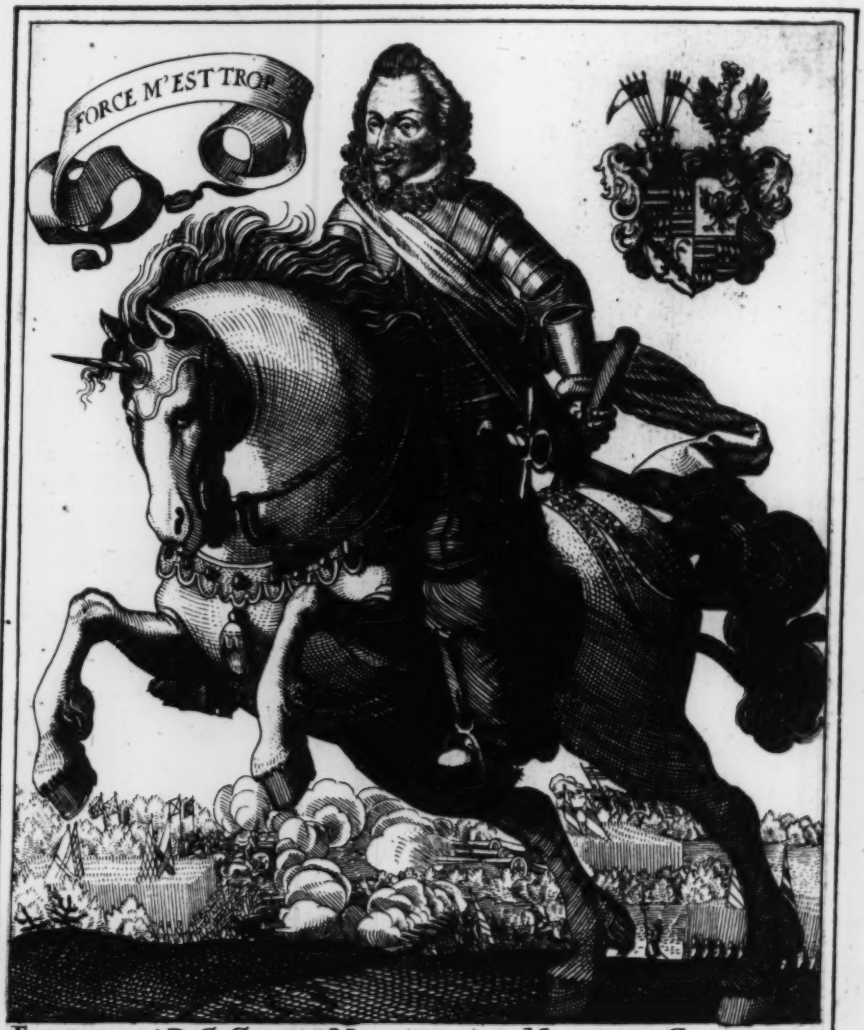
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Town could oppose from within, or *Prince Maurice*, *General* of the *States Army* without. And though he were well intrenched for his own *Security*, yet the *Works* of the *Town* were so impregnable, that he could find no way to gain it, but by starving them, and that could not be done but by commanding the *River*; and those Batteries that he planted to hinder the access of *Shipping* with Relief into the *Town*, were within reach of their *Cannon*, so that he found there was little good to be done, tending to the reducing of it. This struck the *Marquess* to the *Heart*, that he should bury his *Honour*, as he had done a great part of his *Army*, in those bloody Trenches, and therefore he gave scope to his *Resolution*, to make use of his time, for he converted his intentions of *Starving*, to Assaulting, and his assaults were the more *furious*, because he found they would not last long; and *Old Morgan*, that gallant *Colonel*, with his English *Brigade*, gave them their hands full; the *Scots* did Gallant Service in the Town, and their Colonel *Hinderson* was slain; but many of the *Enemy* fell on every side; for it is a great disadvantage for living Bodies to fight against dead Walls, being so high, and unassaultable. *A General* that goes to besiege a *City*, should have his access to it (in his apprehension) as plain as a *Mathematician* hath a *Demonstration* (except it be upon some emergent cause) otherwise there is an *Error* in his account, and there cannot be two, for the *Honour* dyes in the first, which touched the *Marquess* near, being his great trouble, and made him, and his enterprise both droop.

Mansfeldt comes into *Brabant.*

But while he lay there digging graves, Count *Mansfeldts* ranging *Army*, that he brought out of *Bohemia*, and those forces that remained of *Christian Duke* of *Brundswicks*, after he was beaten by *Tilly* and *Cordova*, meeting in the *Palatinate*, and finding themselves able to do little good there (the Country being ruined, and wanting provisions to supply them) resolved to bring their *Army* into the *Low-Countries*, being invited thereunto by the *Prince* of *Orange*, and the *States*, to counterpoise the *formidable Armies*, that the King of *Spain* had then in *Motion*; for though *Spinola's* hands were tyed to the *Trenches*, yet *Conduba* with one *Army*, on one side; and *Count Henry van de Berg* with another army, on the other side, were dreadful to the *Netherlands*. The *Mansfeldters* were not above twelve thousand strong, horse and foot, the *Horse* were only armed with *Pistols*, the foot with *Muskets*, scarce a Pike, or Corslet among them (for *Brundswicks* men upon their defeat for the most part had thrown away their *Armes*) Money, and Provisions, they had very little (their store being now spent) but what they could get by the *Sword*, or purchase from the Towns, and *Cities* (by terror) as they passed; order there was little among them, for want makes men *Brutish*, and *Ravenous*; and there was



ERNESTUS D: G: COMES MANSFELDIÆ, MARCHIO CASTELINO-
VI, ET BUTIGLIERÆ, NOB: DNS IN HELD. SUP: DUX BELLIC, ET HEROS FORT:is

MARTE potens decus et dubijs fiducia rebus,
ERNESTUS CAMPI VIR generosus hic est.
Qui genus illustri ducens à stirpe Parentum
Auget honoratum per sua facta genus.

E. Kieser excu. D. M. C. B.

was no way for them but to cut themſelves out a paſſage into a plentiful *Countrey*. On their way divers of *Mansfieldt*'s Horſe mutined for Money, and came ſwarming about his houſe where he was quartered, threatning violence, and were ready to break open his doors. *Mansfieldt* having a *Spirit* full of *Magnanimity* (and finding courage beſt able to quaile ſuch *Attempts*) would not ſtay ſo long as to have his doors broken, but opened them himſelf (attended only by thoſe of his family) with a Caſe of *Piſtols* in his hands, and preſented himſelf before them, and his very preſence daunted them, for he did with ſweet and affable language let them know his own wants were as great as theirs; and thus when they wanted other proviſions he fed them with *Hopes*. But many of theſe Brunts he had born formerly, *Souldiers* are *like Gameſters*, they get a great deal of *Money* at one time, and have none at all another; and when want pinches it rages; his Houſe hath been often beſet by *Mutiners*, that threatned to tare him in pieces; and he hath opened his doors, thrown himſelf (as it were) among them, and demanded ſtoutly, *What they would have?* and having a Caſe of *Piſtols* always by him, thoſe near him that called for *Money* were ſure to have thoſe *Piſtols* diſcharged in their guts: And then he would ask them again, *who would have Money?* and they would all ſlink away, and not a *Man* dare to open his *Mouth*; ſo high and overpowring a *Spirit* he had! and that only kept him from the *Rage* of *Mutiny*, for he knew his own integrity, that when he had Money he diſtributed it freely, and the more ingenuous part of them knew what Money he had, which was brought in great Sums, from ſuch Towns and Cities, as redeemed themſelves from the *Plunder* of his *Souldiers*; ſo that it was not his *Hoarding* and *Covetouſneſs*, but real want made them ſuffer, and that imboldned his *Spirit*; For a *General* that would be ſafe; when his *Souldiers* are in want, ſhould not take refreſhment ſo much as with the tip of his *Rod*, unleſs they may be partakers in it.

The Battail of *Fleury*.

But with many *Neceſſities*, in their *March* through *Lorrain*, and *Lutzenburgh*, they came to *Fleury* within eight miles of *Namurs*, where *Corduba* with a *Spaniſh Army* ſtrove to hinder their paſſage; The *Conflict* was great betwixt them, and many ſlain on both ſides, and both triumphed in the *Victory*. For *Corduba* kept the *Field*, and *Mansfieldt* kept his way. But *Mansfieldt*'s Victory was the compleateſt, becauſe he attained to his *End*, which was, to break through *Corduba*; But *Corduba* did not attain to his *End*, which was, to hinder *Mansfieldt*. Yet the *Spaniſh Bravery* was highly exalted with *Bonfires*, and rejoycings both at *Madrid*, and *Bruxels*. The *Duke of Brunſwicke* loſt his Bridle *Arm* in that ſervice, and many *Gentlemen* both *Engliſh*

Brunſwick's Arm ſhot off.

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and *Scots*, out of *Love* to the Queen of *Bohemia* behaved themselves gallantly, and let the *Spaniard* know; it was more than an ordinary *shock* they encountered with. Among whom Sir *Charles Rich*, brother to the E. of *Warwick* was a *Principal* person, whose *Voluntary Spirit*, not necessity, made danger his *Companion*, where *Honour* attended it. Sir *James Heyes*, *Knevet*, *Humes*, *Heiborn*, and other Commanders striving for *Corrivalship* in Bravery.

Spinola raises his Siege.

Spinola hearing that *Mansfeldt* was broken through *Corduba*'s *Army*, and come into *Brabant*, made the *Court Splendor* of *Corduba*'s Conqueſt appear but *Ignes fatui*, which alſo ſomething extinguiſht the glory of his own *fame*. For he thought it good policy (ſeeing he ſhould be neceſſitated to leave the Siege of *Berghen*) to do it at that time, when there might be cauſe to think it occaſioned by that *Accident*, more than his default. And therefore as ſoon as the *Prince* of *Orange* and *Mansfeldt* had joyned forces, though *Corduba* came to him and reinforced his *Army*, yet Winter drawing on, and his Army almoſt waſted, he truſſed up his *Baggage* in haſte, ſet his Camp a-fire, and departed, leaving to his *Hungry* Enemies good ſtore of Wine, and other *Proviſions*, in his burning *Quarters*. And thus ſtood the Ballance this year betwixt the King of *Spain* and the *Netherlands*.

Buckingham's Medicine to cure the King's melancholy.

But our King receiving ſo many delays, and diſſatisfactions from *Spain*, and *Rome*, they begot him ſo much trouble, and *Vexation*, that crowding into his thoughts, preſt upon his *Natural Temper*, ſome *fits* of *Melancholy*, which thoſe about him with *facetious Mirth*, would ſtrive to *Mitigate*; And having exhauſted their inventions, or not making uſe of ſuch as were more pregnant, the *Marqueſs* and his *Mother* (inſtead of *Mirth*) fell upon *Prophaneneſs*, thinking with that to pleaſe him, and perhaps they were only miſtaken in the unſeaſonableneſs of the time, being not then ſuitable to the *Humor*. For they cauſ d Miſtris *Aſpernham*, a young Gentlewoman of the Kindred, to dreſs a *Pigg* like a *Child*, and the *Old Counteſs* like a *Midwife* brought it in to the King in a rich Mantle. *Turpin* that married one of the Kindred (whoſe name was renowned for a *Biſhop* in the *Romances* of the *Emperor Charlemain*) was dreſt like a *Biſhop*, in his Sattin Gown, Lawn ſleeves, and other *Pontifical Ornaments*, who (with the *Common Prayer* book) began the words of *Baptiſm*, one attending with a ſilver Baſon of *Water* for the Service, the King hearing the *Ceremonies* of *Baptiſm* read, and the ſqueeking noiſe of that *Brute* he moſt abhorred, turned himſelf to ſee what *Pageant* it was, and finding *Turpin*'s face, which he well knew, dreſt like a *Biſhop*; and the *Marqueſs*, whoſe face he moſt of all loved, ſtand as a Godfather; he cryed *out*, *away for ſhame*, what *Blaſphemy is this?* and turning aſide with a frown, he gave them *cauſe* to think that ſuch ungodly

ungodly *Mirth* would rather increaſe than cure his *Melancholly*.

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Another time at *Theobalds* the King wanted ſome papers that had *Relation* to the *Spaniſh Treaty*, ſo hot in *Motion*, which raiſed him highly into the *Paſſion* of *Anger*, that he ſhould not know what he had done with them, being things ſo material, and of ſuch *concernment*; And calling his *Memory* to a ſtrict account, at laſt he diſcharged it upon *John Gib*, a *Scotchman*, who was of his *Bedchamber*, and had been an old *Servant* to him. *Gib* is called for in haſte, and the King asks him for the *Papers* he gave him; *Gib* collecting himſelf; anſwered the King, he received no papers from him. The King broke into extream *Rage* (as he would often when the *Humor* of *Choler* began to boil in him) proteſting he had them, and reviling him exceedingly for denying them. *Gib* threw himſelf at the *King*'s feet proteſting his innocency, that he never received any, and deſired his life might make ſatisfaction for his fault if he were guilty. This could not calm the King's *Spirit* toſſed in this tempeſt of *Paſſion*; and overcharged with it, as he paſſed by *Gib* (kneeling) threw ſome of it upon him; giving him a kick with his foot. Which kick infected *Gib*, and turned his humility into *Anger*; for riſing inſtantly he ſaid: Sir, *I have ſerved you from my youth, and you never found me unfaithful; I have not deſerved this from you, nor can I live longer with you with this diſgrace; Fare ye well* Sir, *I will never ſee your face more:* and away he goes from the King's preſence, took *Horſe*, and rode towards *London*. Thoſe about the King put on a ſad *countenance* to ſee him diſpleaſed, and every man was inquiſitive to know the *cauſe*; ſome ſaid the King and *Gib* were faln out; but about what? ſome papers of the *Spaniſh Treaty*, the King had given him, cannot be found. *Endimion Porter* hearing it, ſaid, The King gave me thoſe *Papers*, went preſently, and brought them to the King, who being becalmed, and finding his *Error*, called inſtantly for *Gib*; *Anſwer* was made he was gone to *London:* The King hearing it, commanded with all expedition to ſend poſt after him, to bring him back, proteſting never to Eat, Drink, or Sleep till he ſaw *Gib*'s face. The Meſſenger overtook him before he got to *London*, and *Gib* hearing the *Papers* were found, and that the King ſent for him with much earneſtneſs, returned to the Court. And as he came into the *King*'s *Chamber*, the *King* kneeled down upon his Knees before *Gib*, intreating his *pardon*, with a ſober and grave aſpect, proteſting he would never riſe till *Gib* had *forgiven him*, and though *Gibs* modeſtly declined it with ſome humble excuſes, yet it would not ſatisfie the *King*, *till he heard the words of abſolution pronounced.* So ingenious was he in this piece of Paſſion! Which had its ſuddain variation from a ſtern and furious anger, to a ſoft and *melting* affection, which made *Gib* no loſer by the *bargain*.

The King's Choler.

His ſanguine.

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His Flegmatick Humor.

A Diet at *Ratisbone.* 7 *Jan.*

Thus the King's *Melancholy*, *Cholerick*, and *Sanguine conſtitution* appeared. But of all the *Humors*, *Flegm* was now the moſt predominant, which made him ſo tamely ſwallow thoſe raw *fruits of Spain*, that all his *Exerciſe* could not well digeſt.

In *January* this year, the Diet which the *Emperor* had ſummoned (contrary to his promiſe, as *our King* intimates) met at *Ratisbone*, where the *Electors* and divers other *Princes* of *Germany* aſſembled, either in their own perſons, or by their *Deputies*. The Imperial *deſign* was to take off the edge of the *Princes* diſſatisfaction, for his harſh proceedings againſt the *Prince Palatine*; wherein he makes him the ground-work, and cauſe of all the *Wars*, and miſeries, that have hapned in the *Empire*. And thinking no man (as he ſaid) would take the *boldneſs* to mediate the *Reſtitution* of the *proſcribed Palatine* into the *Electoral College*, he could do no leſs than diſpoſe of the *Electorate*, now (*pleno jure*) devolved unto him, as *Emperor*, which he had beſtowed on the *Duke of Bavaria* for ſpending his Treaſure, and hazarding his Blood in his *ſervice*, againſt his own *Nephew*, the expulſed *Palatine*. Wherefore he requeſts the illuſtrious *preſence* of *Electors* and *Princes*, to give their *opinions*, how the *peace* of the *Empire* may be *eſtabliſhed*, to prevent all *commotions for the future*.

The opinion of the Proteſtant Princes.

The *Princes* took this *Propoſition* of the *Emperor* into debate, and the *Proteſtant Princes* deſired *Cæſar* to conſider the importance of the Buſineſs. "That though his Imperial Majeſty in his "own judgment may have had Cauſe enough to publiſh the *Ban* "againſt the *Prince Palatine*, yet they are of *Opinion*, that in his "*particular Cauſe*, which ſo neerly concerned the diſpoſing of an "*Electorate* of the *Empire*, and ſo principal a *Perſon* of the *Electoral College* (the ſuddain doing whereof might occaſion, long, "and tedious Wars, dangerous to the *Roman Empire*) that *Cæſar* "ſhould not of himſelf have proceeded ſo rigorouſly, nor "without the advice, and conſent, of all the reſt of the *Electors*, according as it was agreed upon in the *Capitulation Royal*, "which is holden for a *fundamental Law* of the *Empire*. Which "courſe of *Cæſar*'s, even for the *manner* of proceeding in it, "was diſtaſted by *Divers*, becauſe the *Prince Palatinate* had "never been legally ſummoned, but uncited, and unheard, "without all knowledge of his *Cauſe*, and contrary to all "ordinary *Courſe*, had been condemned, and againſt all *Equity*, oppreſſed by the *Publication* of that *Imperial Ban*. We "purpoſe not to call the *Power Imperial* into queſtion, yet we "cannot but remember your Majeſty of that *Promiſe* made in "your *Capitulation* unto the *Electors*; and humbly *We admoniſh* "*Cæſar*, to ſtand unto his own word, and not to intermit the "performance of it. And as for the diſpoſing of the *Electorate*, "we deſire nothing more than that We could gratifie *Cæſar* "with *Our Suffrages*; But perceiving ſo many, and ſo great *Diffi-*

"*culties*

"*tulties*, in it, We cannot but admoniſh your Majeſty of the *dan-*
"*ger* of it. This being the *Opinion* of *Our Electors*, that ſeeing
"your *Majeſty* hath graciouſly called the *Diet* for reſtoring
"*Peace* in the *Empire*, that it were altogether neceſſary firſt
"to remove the *Obſtacles of Peace*. And ſeeing that all the
"ſtirs began in *Bohemia*, *Cæſar* ſhould do well to labour firſt
"for the quieting of that Kingdom, and command a ſtay to be
"made of the ſevere *Reformation*, and frequent *Executions* there;
"That ſo the *Hearts* of your *Subjects* being overcome with *Grace*
"and *Mercy*, might be ſweetly joyned to you; and all fear,
"and diſtruſt, utterly taken away: without which, we ſee no
"hope, either how your *Majeſty* can ſit ſure upon your *Im-*
"*perial Throne*, or how the *Electors* and *Princes* can be freed
"of their fears; being evident, that the *Bohemians*, and others,
"made deſperate by the *Extremity* of their *ſufferings*, will take
"any occaſion to begin new troubles, and to involve the
"*Empire* with new *Dangers*. All the *Lutheran States* of the
"*Empire*, likewiſe, which follow the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, have
"their *Eyes* upon this *Bohemian Reformation*, which though it
"were given out to be for private *Juſtice*, yet it is ſo linkt with
"the *publick cauſe*, that unleſs it be ſpeedily ended, and the two
"*Churches* at *Prague* (granted by *Rodolphus* the *ſecond*) not in
"favour of ſome private men alone, but of *Chriſtian* Elector of
"*Saxony*, and which had continued free until of late) were a-
"gain opened, and the free exerciſe of *Religion* generally per-
"mitted, We ſee no ſure *Peace* likely to be in the *Empire*, but ut-
"ter ruine rather, and final deſolation, may every day be feared.
"Seeing it was apparently known, that it was not thoſe that pro-
"feſſed the *Reformed* Religion, who begun theſe troubles; but
"the *Noblemen* and great *Officers*, whoſe deſigns the other were
"compelled to obey.

"And for the *Prince Palatine*, ſeeing he is already ſuffi-
"ciently puniſhed, it were far more commendable in your
"Majeſty, that now at laſt upon his ſubmiſſion, you would
"be pleaſed to reſtore him to his *Lands* and *Dignities*, o-
"therwiſe there is no likelihood of Reſtoring Peace to the
"*Empire*. And in the transferring of the *Electorate*, this main
"thing were fit to be conſidered; Whether the *Prince Pala-*
"*tine*, excluded in his own *perſon*, doth debar his *Children*, who
"(by the *providence* of their *Anceſtors*) had before this Act of
"their Father, *jus adquiſitum*, an Hereditary Right unto the
"*Electorate*; or the *brother* of the *Prince Palatine*, who hath no
"way offended your *Majeſty*; nor, by reaſon of his *Minority*,
"could not; Or others of the Kindred of the *Prince Palatine*,
"ſhould be, or ought to be in this Caſe neglected? If they
"be, it will be hardly taken of other *Electors* and *Princes*,
"and occaſion various *Diſtruſts*, betwixt the *Head* and the

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"*Members.* For the *Princes* allied unto the *Prince Palatine*, "who have been quiet hitherto, (upon Confidence of *Cæsar*'s "Clemency) now perceiving all hope of that *Dignity* unto their "*Family* taken away, must needs have Recourse unto *Arms*, "and endeavour the *Recovery* of it by force. And if *Cæsar* should "die, this *controversie* being not compounded, it may well be "feared, many inconveniences will fall out, contrary to *Cæsar*'s "desire. For though upon the advantage of his *Victories*, he hath "had the Law in his own hand, if the Wheel should turn, that "side which is lowest will get up again.

"Therefore We hold it more *Wisdom* to advise *Cæsar*, not to "proceed too suddenly, but rather to accept the intercession of "other *Electors* and *Princes*, as in such Cases hath hitherto been "done. Considering the *Prince Palatine* was then but young, a-"bused by ill *Councel*, and no ways the *Author* of those *stirs* in "*Bohemia*, they being in an uproar before his coming among "them. And if his *Majesty* would pardon the *Prince Palatine*, he "should ever oblige the whole *Electoral College*, and all the *Kings* "and *Princes* allied unto him; and the *Prince* himself, and all his "*posterity*, would be advised (when they remember their *Exile*) "how they embroil themselves in such Business. Whereas if he "saw the door of *Mercy* quite shut, and nothing left him but his "life, it would make both him, and his, desperate to attempt, so "as there would be no end of the Troubles in the *Roman Empire*. "*Cæsar* therefore should do far righter, if for his own *Honour*, "and the *publick* good, he would prefer mercy before *severity*, "and not pursue these *Extremities*.

The opinion of the Popish Princes.

To these things the *Catholick Princes* said, *That* Cæsar *had shown* Causes *enough which he had to deprive the* Palatine, *and the* Palatinate *being devolved to him, he might dispose of it, without having regard to the* Palatine line, *according to his own pleasure. That his* Majesty *could not well hold any terms of* Amity *with him, though he were restored; and this* impunity *would give occasion unto others to offend. As for the matter of* Punishment, *there would be little difference between the* Emperor, *and the* Palatine, *seeing that his* Majestie's Lands *and* Dominions, *are no less wasted than the others, and yet there is great difference in the* cause; *for this fell out to* Cæsar *without his Demerit, and the* Palatine *did the other, having no necessity to it. That he had refused* mercy, *in not acknowledging his fault, nor seeking for* favour. *And it is an unequal Request for* Cæsar *to accept of any* Reconciliation, *whilst his General* Mansfeldt *is yet in the field, and* prosecutes *his cause by force of* Arms. *The safety of the Empire consisting in the filling up of the* Electoral College, *Cæsar hath done very well in a speedy resolving on it, and other* Emperors *in the like causes have done the same before.*

The Reply of the Protestant Princes.

To which the other party answered: *That for the security of the* Imperial Dignity, *and safety of the Empire, there is no question, but that*

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that it conſiſted in the Concord *of the* Electoral College, *with the* Emperor. *And the* Prince Palatine *hath (as you ſay) done amiſs, yet if* Cæſar *ſhall ſtill uſe* Rigor, *the* Princes *of the lower* Saxony *are of* Opinion, *there can be no* Peace *eſtabliſhed in the* Empire, *the good of which being moſt worthy to be preferred,* Cæſar *ſhould do wiſely to ſuffer himſelf to be intreated, and change* Rigor *into* Clemency, *making the* Empire *by that means glad with a deſired* Peace, *otherwiſe new flames were likely to break out, in thoſe places which yet are preſerved from burning. That* Cæſar *had now by the aid of the* Electors, *and* Princes, *recovered his loſt* Provinces, *and wanting nothing but quiet poſſeſſion of them which, this deſired* Reconciliation *was the beſt means to effect. The hand of War may be lifted up, but who knows where the ſtroak will fall? and* Victory *is ſo long uncertain, as the adverſe party hath power to reinforce his* Arms. *And for the renewing of the War, there is yet a fair pretence left, for that in beſtowing the* Electorate, *the* Prince Palatine's *ſons, and brother have been neglected, and with theſe* Principles *are the minds of many of the* Princes *of the* Empire *already poſſeſſed. The King of* Great Britain *beſides could not but take it ill that he ſhould now ſee all his endeavours take no good effect, but his only daughter and her* Children, *left in* exile. *And as for the manner of this* Reconciliation, *there might be a particular* Treaty, *and* Conſultation, *wherein* Cæſar's Prerogative imperial *being reſerved, all* parties *might receive* Satisfaction, *and the* Empire *once again flouriſh in* Peace. *If theſe* Remedies *be not applied it will produce ill blood, yea* Heart-*burnings, and diſtruſts, in the* Electoral College *it ſelf.*

The Emperour's Reply. The Elector of *Saxony.*

Theſe ſeveral anſwers delivered to the *Emperor*, the twentieth of *January*, he replyed unto, thanking them for their *conſultations. And though ſome (ſaith he) have wiſely heretofore reſolved* us, *that* our proceedings *in* proſcribing *the* Palatine *was both legal and* neceſſary, *yet now* we *perceive ſome of you are of* opinion *that according to* our Capitulation *Royal, we ought not to have proceeded ſo far, without the Knowledg, and conſent of the* Electors. *But as we have no ways gone begond this* our Capitulation, *but even before* we *ſet out the* Ban, *punctually conſidered all that was neceſſary to be taken notice of; ſo did* we *alſo deſire nothing more then that a* Diet *might be convoked, for the due treating and adviſing upon this* Buſineſs: *which meeting being impeded by the* proſecution *of the* War *by the* Palatine, *we could do no leſs, to take down his* courage, *than publiſh the* Ban *againſt him: which courſe of* ours, *ſeeing it was never intended to be proſecuted to the prejudice of the* Electoral College, *or againſt* our own Capitulation, we *hope that the* Electors *will not take it otherwiſe; being that* we *promiſe withal, ſo to moderate it, that no detriment, or prejudice ſhall reſult thereby unto the* Dignity Electoral.

As for the Tranſlation of the Electorate, *and your advice for* Reſtoring *of the* Palatinate, *there is (I perceive) ſome difference in your* Opinions. *One part wiſely, and in* favour *of* us, *affirming the great*

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Reason we *have to do it. But for the other party, which adviseth his* Restoring, we *purpose not so far to consent unto it, as to the restoring of him to the* Electoral Dignity, *seeing that in the disposing of it other where,* we *are resolved that* we *shall do no more than* we *have just reason to do: nor will* we *defer the filling up of the* Electoral College, *because the dispatching of it doth so much concern the* Common good. *But for the* Restitution *of the* Person *of the* Palatine, *you shall see how much* our Mind *is inclined towards clemency, and how far* we *will declare* Our self *to gratifie the King of Great* Britain, *the King of* Denmark, *the* Elector *of* Saxony, *and other* Electors, *and* Princes, *interceding for him.*

And as concerning our *forbidding the* Exercise *of the* Lutheran Religion *in the City of* Prague; we *do not see how it any way concerns this* Diet *to inquire of,* our Letter *have signified the* causes *that moved* us *to begin it unto the* Elector *of* Saxony, *nor can* we *think that what* we *have done there, any of the* Neighbour *States or Territories, need be suspicious of, seeing that* we *have sworn oftner than once in the* Word *of an* Emperour, *that* we *will most Religiously observe the* Peace, *both of* Religion, *and civil* Government, *throughout the* Empire. *And thus much* we *could not but advertise this* Illustrious Presence *of* Electors, *and* Princes, *and you the* Ambassadors *of those that are absent.*

The Protestants answer.

The *Protestant Electors*, and *Princes*, still persisted in their *Resolution*, that the *Emperour* could not translate the *Electorate* legally, the *words* of the *Capitulation*, being clearly these. *In all difficult businesses, no process ought to be made, without the knowledg and consent of the* Electors; *and that without ordinary process, no proscription should go out against any one of the* States *of the* Empire, *before the cause were heard.* This is the fundamental *Law* of the *Empire*, which required no more, but to be constantly observed, nor is it to be drawn into further dispute, or deliberation. And it stood the *Electors* upon, to be open eyed, to see to the observation of it, being it concerned the three *Secular Electors* especially, whose *Dignity*, did by an *Hereditary Right* descend unto their *Posterity*, to keep it safe, and entire, which they hoped that *Cæsar* would not contradict.

Result of all.

But the *Emperour* would not be perswaded from his own *Resolution*, yet in conclusion, to gratifie the *Princes*, he was contented to confer the *Electorate*, with a *Proviso*, that the *investiture* of the *Duke* of *Bavaria*, should not be prejudicial to the *children* of the *Palatine*; and so the *Diet* ended.

23. Feb.

The *Duke* of *Saxony* was one of the first that executed the *Imperial Bann* against the *Prince Palatine*, assisting the *Emperour* with a great *Army*, to level the *Power* of his fellow *Elector*, when he mounted to be a King, and came so near him as *Prague*, but when he was brought thus low, he would willingly have raised him up again, and then, the *Hand* that had done him so much mischief was not permitted to do him any good. But by



by the carriage of the *Buſineſs* (though the *Emperour* gave fair words) it did after appear, the *Auſtrian Policy* aimed at the *Extirpation* of *Religion*, as well as at the excluſion of the *Palatine* and his *Children*; for he never meant them *Title*, nor *Territory*, unleſs he could ſettle both upon a *Popiſh Foundation*; and to that end there was a private *Treaty* broached in *England*, and carried on by ſome of *Our* King's *Miniſters of State*; That the Young *Prince Palatine*, ſhould be bred up in the *Emperour's Court*, under pretence of marrying his Daughter, but in effect to be trained up in the *Popiſh Religion*: And our *Prince Charles* at the ſame time muſt fetch his Wife in *Spain*; where they hoped the influence of that *Air*, their *Viſible Piety*, and their inviſible *Plots* would ſweetly inſinuate their *Popiſh Principles* into him. So impiouſly cunning they are to make others as miſerable as themſelves.

Auſtrian policy.

The ending of the *Diet* in *Germany*, and our *Prince*'s Journey into *Spain*, were much about a time. He went with the *Marqueſs* of *Buckingham* privately from Court the 17. of *February* to *New-Hall* in *Eſſex*, the Marqueſs's Houſe (purchaſed of that unthrift, *Robert* Earl of *Suſſex*) and from thence the next day by *Graves-End* the ſtraight way to *Dover*, attended onely by Sir *Richard Graham*, Maſter of the Marqueſs's *Horſe*, where they were to meet Sir *Francis Cottington*, who was thought fit to be the *Prince*'s *Secretary*, and *Endimion Porter*, who was then taken from the Marqueſs's Bed-Chamber to wait upon the Prince. *Cottington* was at firſt, Clerk to Sir *Charles Cornwallis* his *Secretary*, when *Cornwallis* was *Ambaſſadour* in *Spain*; and being left there an *Agent*, in the *Intervals* of *Ambaſſadours*, was by that means trained up in the *Spaniſh* affairs: *Porter* was bred up in *Spain* when he was a Boy, and had the *Language*, but found no other *Fortune* there, then brought him over to be Mr. *Edward Villers* his man, in *Fleetſtreet*, which was before either the Marqueſs or his Maſter were acceptable at *White-Hall*. And *Graham* at firſt was an underling of low degree in the Marqueſs's *Stable*. It is not hereby intended to vilifie the *perſons*, being men (in this World's lottery) as capable of advancement as others; but to ſhow in how poor a Bark, the King ventured the rich freight his Son, having onely the Marqueſs to ſteer his *Courſe*.

The Prince's journey into *Spain*.

The *Prince* and *Buckingham* had falſe *Beards* for diſguizes, to cover their ſmooth *Faces*, and the names of *Jack Smith*, and *Tom Smith*, which they paſt with, leaving behind them impreſſions in every place (with their bounty, and preſence) that they were not the *Perſons* they preſented; but they were not ſo rudely dealt with as to be queſtioned till they came to *Dover*, and there the *Mayor* in a *Supercilious Officiouſneſs* (which may deſerve the title of a careful *Magiſtrate*) examined them ſo far, (being jealous they were Gentlemen going over to fight) that

By *Dover*.

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the *Marqueſs* (though *Admiral*) was glad to Vail his *Beard* to him in private, and tell him he was going to viſit the Fleet, ſo they had liberty to take Ship, and landed at *Bulloign* the ſame day, making ſwift *Motion* by *Poſt-Horſes* (which *celerity* leaves the leaſt impreſſion) till they came to *Paris*; There the *Prince* ſpent one day to view the *City* and *Court*, ſhadowing himſelf the moſt he could under a Buſhy *Peruque*, which none in former times but bald people uſed, but now generally intruded into a faſhion; and the *Prince's* was ſo big, that it was hair enough for his whole face. The *Marqueſſes* fair Face was ſhadowed with the ſame Pencil, and they both together ſaw the *Queen*-Mother at Dinner, the King in the Gallery after Dinner, and towards the Evening they had a full view of the *Queen Infanta*, and the *Princeſs Henrietta Maria*, with moſt of the *Beauties* of the *Court*, at the practice of a Masking Dance, being admitted by the *Duke* of *Montbaſon*, the *Queens* Lord *Chamberlain* in *Humanity* to Strangers, when many of the *French* were put by. There the *Prince* ſaw thoſe *Eyes* that after inflamed his *Heart*, which increaſed ſo much, that it was thought to be the cauſe of ſetting Three Kingdoms afire: but whether any ſpark of it did then appear, is uncertain; if it did, it was cloſely raked up, till the *Spaniſh* fire went out; the heat whereof made him neglect no time till he came to *Madrid*.

Paris.

Burdeaux.

At *Burdeaux*, the *Duke D'Eſpernon*, Governour there, out of a noble freedom to *Strangers*, offered them the *Civilities* of his *Houſe*, which they declined with all baſhful reſpects, and Sr *Francis Cottington* who always looked like a Merchant, and had the leaſt *Miene* of a *Gentleman* (fitteſt for ſuch an imployment) let him know, they were Gentlemen that deſired to improve themſelves, and had not Breeding ſuitable to his Grandeur; which took off the edge of his invitation, whoſe ſubtile *Eye* by *Converſe* might have pryed through thoſe fictitious out-ſides, to diſcover more then did appear.

Bayone.

They paſt with ſome difficulties alſo at *Bayone*, where the Count *de Gramant* was *Governour*, (being the utmoſt part of *France*, and the *Key*, that opens the *Way* into *Spain*) he being a pregnant man read more than ordinary in them; but where *Peace* is the *School-Maſter*, *Jealouſie* the Pragmatical *Uſher* hath little to do; therefore out of *Common Civility* he let them paſs. And within a ſmall time after they had taken Poſt (before they had well paſſed the *Bounds* of *France*) he had notice by a *Courier*, (that brought Advice thereof to the King of *Spain*,) from *Don Carlos de Coloma*, Extraordinary *Ambaſſadour* in *England*, (*Gondemar* for his good Service being ſent for home, and advanced) that the *Prince* of *England* was among them. This *Hazard* the *Prince* ran, upon *Poſt-Horſes*, that if he had been diſcovered, it would not only have queſtioned his *Judgment*, in the managing of ſo great an Affair,



Sir A. Vandyke P. E. Scriven S.

MARY DE MEDICIS.

but he muſt have remained at the *French mercy*, which would have given an *Eclipſe* to the *glory* he ſhined in, in the *Court* of *Spain*, for they looked upon this *ſpritely* journey, as a high remarque of a Gallant and *Noble ſpirit*; And happily ſome *Spaniſh Fancy* may now be framing, how many *Gyant Difficulties* he conquered in the way, and what *Inchantments* he paſſed among the *Beauties* of *France*: for ſuch *Romances* are frequent among thoſe barren *Roſemary Mountaines*, the *fume* whereof is pleaſant and helpful to the Brain.

Upon *Saturday* the ſixth of *March*, they arrived at *Madrid*. The *Prince* and *Marqueſs* came thither one day before *Cottington*, and the others, to make the leſs noiſe in *appearances*. They *lighted* at the *Earl* of *Briſtol*'s Houſe, in the evening, and the Marqueſs brought in the *Portmantua*, but his Maſter ſtaid without with the *Guide*, till he had prepared a way for Privacy. The Earl of *Briſtol* was aſtoniſhed at the ſight, but after he had collected himſelf, his *Diligence* attended his *Duty*, and the Prince wanted nothing but *Counſel* how to order himſelf, which they took time (till the next day towards the *Evening*) to deliberate on. All that morning the Town was filled with *Rumours* of the arrival of ſome great Prince, and though the King of *Spain* had intimation by his Letters, yet he kept all private till the *Prince* expreſt himſelf, which was done that Evening. For *Buckingham* and *Briſtol* went to the *Court*, and had private *Audience* of the King, who ſent his *Grand favourite Olivares* back with them to congratulate the *Princes* coming, who let the *Prince* know how Happy the King his Maſter was in the Injoyment of him there, and what addition of *Grandure* his preſence would contribute to the *Court* of *Spain*, and that the *obligation* was ſo great, that he deſerved to have the *Infanta* thrown into his *Armes*. All this while kneeling, kiſſing his Hands, and embracing his *Thigh*! the *Huge* and ſwelling *expreſſions* of *Spaniſh Humility*. And from him he went to the *Marqueſs* of *Buckingham*, telling him, That now the *Prince* of *England* was in *Spain*, his Maſter *and he would divide the World betwixt them*, with other *Rodomontado* fancies. And after he was gone, about ten of the Clock that night, the King of *Spain* came in a cloſe Coach to *Viſit* the *Prince*, who having intimation of his coming (ſuch ſecret *Hints* among *Princes* being ſuitable invitements) he met him in the way, and there they ſpent ſome time in thoſe *ſweet*, yet formal *Careſſes* and *Imbraces*, that are incidents to the Interviews of great *Princes*, though their *Hearts* and Tongues do ſeldom accord. *Gondemar* in conſort was not without his *Strain* of *Complement*, for he told the *Prince* upon a *Viſit* next day; that he had ſtrange news to tell him; which was, *That an Engliſhman* was ſworn a privy-*Councellour* to the King of *Spain*; meaning himſelf, who he ſaid was an *Engliſhman* in *Heart*, and had lately received that *Honour*.

At Madrid.

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Rides in State to the Court.

The next day the *King* and *Prince* had ſome Interviews in their Coaches paſſing to the *Parada* to take the *Air*, where alſo he had a glimpſe of his fair Miſtreſs, but the *Formality* of the *Princes* Entertainment was deferred till his lodgings were made ready in the *Court*, which was the *Sunday* following, being that day invited to *Dinner* to St. *Hierome's Monaſtery*, where the King commanded divers of his great Officers to attend upon the *Prince*, which they did bare-headed, and they ſay it was according to the old *Cuſtome* of *Caſtile*; but *King* Philip when he was in *England* found that *Reſpect*, and retained it ever after in *Spain*. The *Prince* would have prevented their *Ceremony* to him, but they are ſtubborn, and pertinacious in their very *Humility*. After dinner the *King* came in *Perſon*, with his *Favorite Olivares* and divers others of the *Nobility* in Coaches, with intention on horſeback (for the more *State*) to conduct the *Prince* through the Town to the *Court*, having Horſes and all accoutremens fit for ſuch a Royal Train. And thus mounted they rode in great *Glory*, through the ſtreets (being adorned with rich Tapiſtry and rare *Pictures*) as their *Kings* do to their *Coronation*. The *Spaniſh civility* placed the *Prince* on the *Right* hand of the *King*, under a rich cloth of Eſtate, ſupported by many Perſons of *Quality*; *Olivares* and *Buckingham* went next the *Canopy*, and after them the reſt of their *Grandees* in their ſeveral *Degrees*, moſt glorious every where to behold, the choice *Beauties* of the *Town* and *Court*, preſenting themſelves to ſee and to be ſeen. At the *Court gate* they diſmounted, and then a new friendly ſtrife began who ſhould enter *Firſt*, and becauſe that ſhould breed no difference they went both together. The *Queen* and the *Infanta* from a Window in the *Court*, ſaw them come riding in triumphant Equipage, and when they alighted the *Infanta* retired, and the *Queen* went to her *Chamber*, expecting a *Viſit*; and when the *King* and *Prince* entred her *Chamber*, ſhe roſe to meet them making an *Obeyſance* to the *Prince*, ſuitable to her *Greatneſs* and *His*; and he bowing to the *Ground* almoſt in *Obedience* to *Her*, were both as great *Patterns* of *Civility*, and courteſie to the reſt of their *Train*. And after ſome *Compliments* they ſate down in three *Royal Seats* prepared for them, the *Queen* in the *Middle*, the *Prince* on her right hand, and the *King* on her left. And in this *Stately* poſture they diſcourſed away ſome half an hours time, and then they parted. The *Queen* brought the *Prince* to the utmoſt extent of her *Chamber*, and the *King* to a *Chamber* prepared for him (with many Rooms of *State*, *Sumptuouſly* adorned,) where he left him to his own Attendance, and ſome great *Spaniſh Condes*, as *Principal* Officers of his *Houſehold*, *Gondemar* ever being one about him. Two dayes after, the *Prince* was invited to run at the *Ring*, where his fair *Miſtris* was a *Spectator*, and to the *Glory* of his *fortune*, and the great *Content-*

ment


CRUX · FIDEI
COTI" CULA

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ment both of himſelf, and the *Lookers* on, he took the *Ring* the very firſt *Courſe*. So ſeaſonable are theſe little empty *joyes*, when they are ſuitable to our *Minds* and *Wiſhes*.

His Royal entertainment.

All that the *Spaniſh Court* could do was heightned into *Gallantry* and *Civilities* to the *Prince*, yet he ſaw not his fair *Miſtris* but at an undiſcerning diſtance, and in *tranſitu*, as ſhe came from *Church*. But after all theſe *Splendid*, and glorious out-ſide *Ceremonies* of Entertainment, were grown a little old, the *Prince* began to mind the Buſineſs he came about, and deſired a more intimate acceſs to his Beloved *Infanta*, which *Olivares* promiſed from day to day to accompliſh, but ſtill delayed; and at length, when unperformed *promiſes* were heightned into *Shame*, he plainly confeſſed, That it was agreed by the King and his Council, that he might not ſee her as a Lover, till the *Diſpenſation* came; for it would give ſcandal to admit him before, yet not to ſtarve him quite in his *Deſires* (but to keep him ſhort that he ſhould not *ſurfeit*) he had now and then Acceſs to her as a *Prince*, in a publike way, the *King* of *Spain* being always *preſent*, and the Earl of *Briſtol* Interpreter, ſo that nothing could be ſpoken, but thoſe little ſuperficial Compliments, that ſerved as Baits rather to nibble on, than ſatisfie. But theſe *ſmall Repaſts* kept up the *Appetite*.

The Engliſh Nobility flock into *Spain*.

And now the *Glories* of the *Engliſh* Court left the Northern *Sun* declining to the *Weſt*, and came to ſee the *Sun* riſing in *Spain*. The *Marqueſs* of *Buckingham*'s new *Title* of *Duke* came to him alſo, (that he might be in the higheſt Rank among the *Spaniſh Grandees*) to beard the proudeſt of them; which afterwards he did. And the *Viſcount Doncaſter* (lately made *Earl* of *Carlile*) came in all his *Glories*; of which two, it was obſerved by knowing *Men*, *That* Buckingham *came into* Spain *of the* Spaniſh *Faction*, *and returned into* England *of the* French *Faction*: Carlile *came into* Spain *of the* French *Faction*, *and returned into* England *of the* Spaniſh: thus varying the *Scene* by *fits*, and acting their parts as the preſent *fancy* moved them. The Lord *Kenſington* Captain of the Guard to *our King*, came alſo to ſee the *Prince*, ſo did the *Earl* of *Denbigh*, *Edward*, Son and Heir to the now *Earl* of *Mancheſter*; The *Viſcount Mandevill*, the *Viſcount Rochford*, and divers others of the *Nobility*; And the *Prince* was ſo circled with a *Splendid Retinue* of his own *people*, that it might be ſaid, *There was an Engliſh Court in the King of Spain's* Pallace.

The Spaniſh ſtrive to pervert the Prince.

But together with theſe ſpecious Entertainments there were underworking *Hopes* to have the Prince turn *Papiſt*, for (in intervenient *Diſcourſes*) *Olivares*, and others, would preſs him (with all the *Arguments* the Court had inſtructed them in) to a *converſion*; intimating how ſmooth a path it would make to the *Infanta's* affections; for when he, that was to be *Lord* of her *Heart* and

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and the best friend she had, would be an Enemy to her *Religion*, it could be but a great *Obstacle* to her *Love*. And when the *Danger* of it was proposed to them, as likely to bring a *Rebellion* in the *Nation*, if their *Prince* should be perverted, they promised to assist him with an *Army* against such rebellious people. But if he would not admit of a present, and suddain alteration publikely, yet that he would be so indulgent when the *Infanta* came into *England*, as to listen to her in *Matters* of *Religion*, which the *Prince* promised to do. Nay, his own *familiar friend Bristol* (as it was *Articled* against him afterwards by *Buckingham*) did strive with a gentle hand to allure him that way, as bringing with it an addition to the *Grandure* of the King's of *England*, *that none of them could ever do great things, that were not of that Religion.*

Thus was the *Prince* beset, and Time ran away in *Discourses*: The *Dispensation* being purposely delayed; for some at that time in the *Spanish Court*, said it was come, and sent back again to *Rome*, (being too forward, and active) that it might have more weight put upon it, and then it would not make so much haste, for now it came too soon to dispatch their worke. For the *subtily* considered, that *Time* and continual dropping, might leave those impressions upon the *Prince's spirit*, that *Dispatches* cannot effect. Therefore they made new *Queries*, and clapt new *Remora's* upon the *Articles*, that being tangled in *Disputations* betwixt *England* and *Spain*; and in *controversies* of *Religion* betwixt the *Prince*, and some of their cunning *Sophisters*, (which they set a work) that before the way could be well cleared on both sides, their *Design* (which was the *Prince's Perversion*) might mature and ripen. For the *Earl* of *Bristol* confessed afterwards, *That it was a general received Opinion in the Spanish Court, that the* Prince *came thither with intention to be a Roman Catholike*; And *Gondemar* pressed *Bristol* not to hinder so *pious* a *work*, assuring him, they had the *Duke* of *Buckingham's assistance* therein.

So doth the Pope.

And it was evident enough their hopes were great, by the *Pope's* letter to the *Bishop* of *Conchen*, Inquisitor general in *Spain*: Wherein, he excites him, not to slip the *Opportunity*, *providence* had put into his *hand*, of extending his *Piety* to the outtermost *Nations*. The *Prince* of *England* being now in the Court of *Spain*, that glorious Temple (as it were) that hath been a *Bulwark* to the *Pontifical Authority*, and an *Academy* for *propogation* of *Religion*, he desires he may not stay there in vain, but that some of the impressions of the *Piety*, of so many *Catholick* Kings, as have lived there, may be imprinted on him; that he may be won with all sweetness, as many of his noble *Ancestors* have been, who have submitted their *Crowned heads*, and Imperiall *power* to the *Roman Obedience*. And to his glorious *Victory*, and *Eternal Triumph*



GREGORIVS XV. Alexander Ludoui-
sius, Bononien. creat[us] die 9. Februarij an.
1621. sedit an. 2. me[nses] ns. 5. Obijt die 8. Iu-
lij an. 1623 Vac[auit] Sed. dies 28.

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Triumph of *Celeſtial Beatitudes*, the Treaſures of Kings, and *Legions* of *Souldiers* cannot contribute, but the *Weapons* of *Light* that muſt come from *Heaven*, whoſe *Splendor* inlightning the *Prince*'s *Eyes*, ſhall dazle his *Errors*, and eſtabliſh his mind in meekneſs. And he charges the *Biſhop*, and all his *Fraternity*, to uſe the beſt ſtrength, and induſtry, they can to this purpoſe. So that the *Prince* was continually laid at, by the inſinuating *Orations* of cunning *Jeſuits*; the fained, and couſening *Miracles* of recluſed *Holineſs*; the *Splendid* and *Specious Solemnities* of their *Formal Proceſſions*; the rare, and admirable Pictures of their reputed *Saints*; beſides many other painted devices, and ſubtle *Artifices*, brooded among them.

And the *Pope* uſed all the *Rhetorick* of his *Cabaliſtical Conſiſtory*, and *Holy Chair*, to charm him to his *Obedience*, as may be ſeen by this Letter which he writ to him himſelf.

By his Letters.

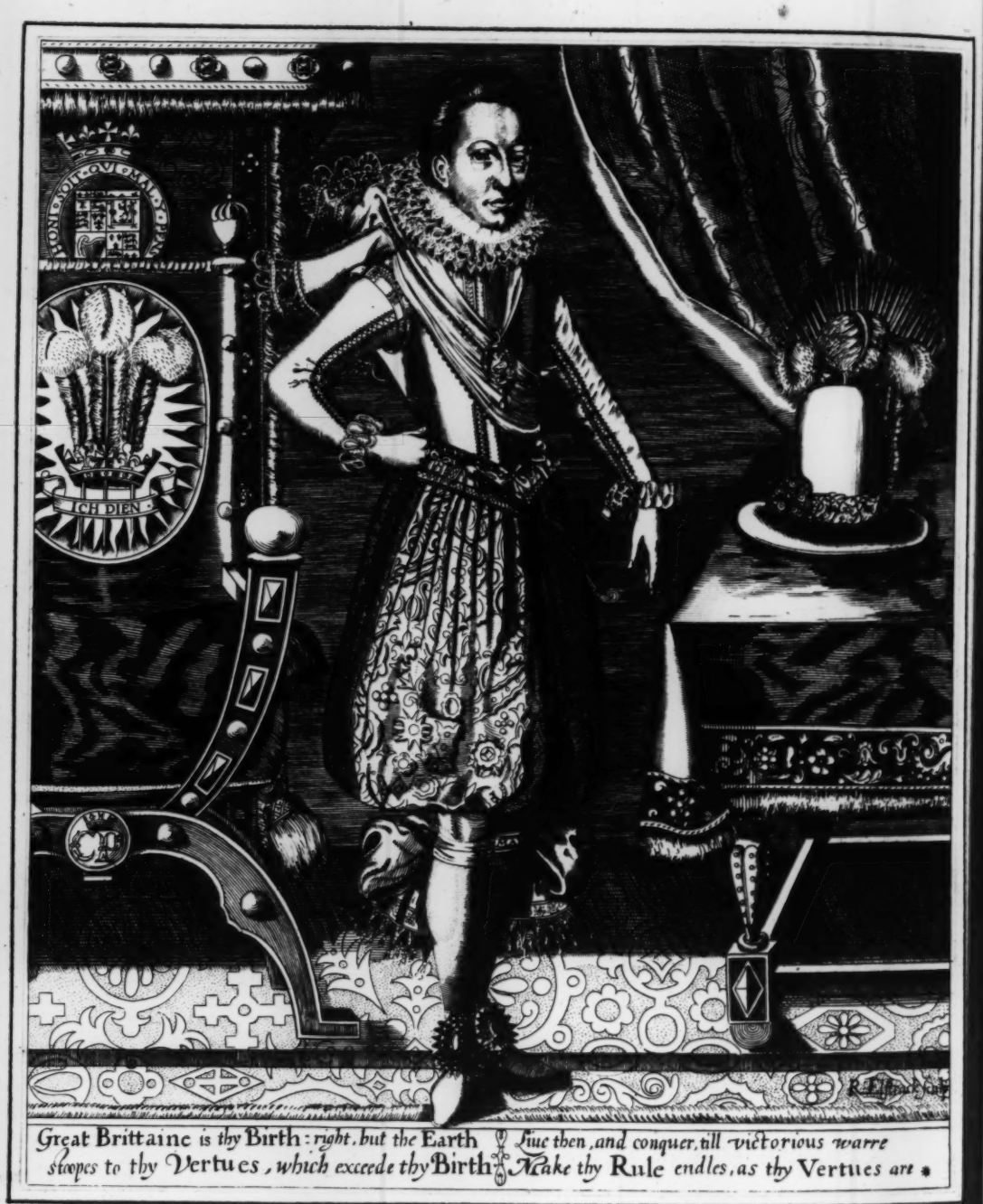
MOſt Noble Prince, Health *and* Light *of* Divine Grace. *Foraſmuch as* Great Britain *hath always been fruitful in* Vertues, *and Men of* Merit, *having filled the one and the other* World *with the* Glory *of* Her Renown: *She doth alſo very often attract the thoughts of the* Holy Apoſtolical Chair, *to the conſideration of her praiſes. And indeed the* Church *was but then in her Infancy, when the King of Kings did chooſe her for his Inheritance, and ſo affectionately, that it is thought the* Roman Eagles *prevailed not ſo much as the* Banner *of the* Croſs. *Beſides that many of her Kings inſtructed in the Knowledg of the true* Salvation, *have preferred the* Croſs *before the* Royal Scepter, *and the* Diſcipline *of* Religion *before* Covetouſneſs, *leaving* Examples *of* Piety *to other* Nations, *and to the Ages yet to come; ſo, as having* Merited *the principal and chief* Places *of* Bleſſedneſs *in* Heaven, *they have obtained on* Earth *the Triumphant* Ornaments *of true* Holineſs. *And although now the* State *of the* Engliſh Church *be altered*, yet we ſee the Court of Great Britain *adorned and furniſhed with* Moral Vertues, *which might ſerve to ſupport the* Charity *that* We *bear unto* Her, *and be an* Ornament *to the name of* Chriſtianity; *if withal* She *could have for her defence and* Protection, *the* Orthodox *and* Catholike Truth. *Wherefore by how much the* Glory *of your moſt Noble* Father, *and the apprehenſion of your* Royal Diſpoſition, *delights* Us, *with ſo much more* Zeal, We *deſire that the* Gates *of the* Heavenly Kingdom, *might be* opened *unto you, and that you might purchaſe to your ſelf the* Love *of the* Univerſal Church. *Moreover, it being* Certain *that* Gregory *the* Great *of moſt bleſſed* Memory, *hath introduced to the* Engliſh people, *and taught their Kings, the law of the* Goſpel, *and the reſpect to* Apoſtolical Authority; We *as inferior to him in* Holineſs *and* Virtue. *but equal in Name and* Degree *of* Dignity, *it is very reaſonable that* We *following his bleſſed* Steps, *ſhould endeavour the* Salvation *of thoſe* Provinces, *eſpecially at this time, when your* Happy *Deſign (moſt* Noble

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Noble Prince) *elevates* Us *to the* Hope *of an extraordinary advantage. And as you have taken a Journey into* Spain *to the* Catholike King, *with desire to allye your* Self *to the* House *of* Austria, *so* We *do commend your* Design, *and indeed do testifie openly in this present* Business, That you are he that takes *principal* Care *of* our Prelacy. *For seeing that you desire to take in* Marriage *the Daughter of* Spain, We *may* easily *from thence conjecture, That the ancient* seeds *of* Christian Piety *which have so happily flourished in the* Hearts *of the Kings of* Great Britain, *May* (God prospering them) *revive again in your* Soul. *And indeed* it is not to be believed, that he that loves such an alliance should hate the Catholike Religion, and delight to oppress the Holy Chair. *To that purpose* We *have commanded to make continually most* humble Prayers *to the Father of* Lights, *That he would be pleased to put you as a fair* Flower *of* Christendom, *and the onely* Hope *of* Great Britain, *in possession of that most noble* Heritage, *that your* Ancestors *have purchased for you, to defend the* Authority *of the* Soveraign High Priest, *and to fight against the* Monsters *of* Heresie. *Remember the dayes of old, enquire of your* Fathers, *and they will tell you the Way that leads to* Heaven, *and what way Temporal* Princes *have taken to gain an* Eternal Kingdom. *Behold the* Gates *of* Heaven *opened, the most holy Kings of* England *(who came from* England *to* Rome *accompanied with* Angels) *did come to* Honour, *and do* Homage *to the* Lord of Lords *and to the* Prince *of the* Apostles, *in the* Apostolical *Chair: their* Actions, *and* Examples, *being as so many Voices of God, speaking and exhorting you to follow the* course *of the Lives of those, to whose* Empire *you shall one day attain.*

Is it possible that you can suffer Hereticks *should hold them for impious, and condemn those whom the* Faith *of the* Church *testifies to reign in* Heaven *with* Jesus Christ, *and have command, and authority over all* Principalities, *and* Empires *of the* Earth? *Behold how they tender you the hand of this truly happy inheritance, to Conduct you* Safe *and* Sound *to the Court of the* Catholike *King; And now desire to bring you back again into the bosom of the* Roman Church: *beseeching with unspeakable* sighs *and groans the* God *of all* Mercy *for your* Salvation, *and do* stretch *out to you the* Arms *of the* Apostolical Charity, *to imbrace you with all* Christian *affection, even you, that are* her *desired* Son, *in shewing you the happy* Hope *of the Kingdom of* Heaven. *And indeed you cannot give a greater* Consolation *to all the people of the* Christian World, *then to put the* Prince *of the* Apostles, *in possession of your most noble* Island, *whose* Authority *hath been held so long in the Kingdom of* Britain *for the defence of Kingdoms, and for a* Divine Oracle, *the which will easily arrive, and without* Difficulty, *if you* open *your* Heart to the Lord that knocks, upon which depends all the happiness of that Kingdom. *It is from this* our great Charity *that* we *cherish the* Praises *of the* Royal Name; *and that which makes*



Great Brittaine is thy Birth: right, but the Earth
stoopes to thy Vertues, which exceede thy Birth.

Liue then, and conquer, till victorious warre
Make thy Rule endles, as thy Vertues are.

Charles I as Prince of Wales

makes us *desire that you and your* Royal Father *might be* styled *with the name of* Deliverers, *and* Restorers *of the antient, and* Paternal Religion *of* Great Britain. This is it we hope for, *trusting in the* Goodness *of* God, *in whose hands are the* Hearts *of Kings, and who causeth the* People *of the* Earth *to receive* Healing; *to whom* we *will alwayes labour with all* our Power *to render you gracious and favourable. In the interim take notice by these Letters, the care of* our Charity, *which is none other then to procure your* Happiness; *and it will never grieve* us *to have written them, if the reading of them stir but the least spark of* Catholick Faith *in the heart of so great a* Prince, *whom* we *wish to be filled with long continuance of* Joy, *and flourishing in the Glory of all* Virtues. *Given at* Rome *in the* Palace *of St.* Peter, *the* 20. *of* April. 1623. *in the third year of our* Popedom.

The Pope's cunning.

This Letter of the Pope's expresses not only the sleek, and smooth waies, *that Soul-merchant* takes to purchase his *Proselytes*, but the end he proposes to himself; which is, to bring them under the *Roman Obedience*, otherwise whatsoever they do or profess is *Heresie*. And to build up the *Towers* of this great *Babel*, the name of the most High God is brought down among them, and used as a Master Builder. *Every* Profession layes that name as a *Foundation*, though the Superstructure be but straw and stubble of *Hypocrisie*, which a whirl-wind shall scatter, and the time is coming that her *Lovers* shall be destroyed, and fiery-cloven tongues shall confound their *Language*. The Prince was not slack in answering this Letter, which happily he might think would quicken the Pope to dispatch the *Dispensation*, when he should find so little cause for *Delayes*, by his closing so nearly with him. Which whether out of Policy or Real intention cannot be asserted, but the Letter was thus:

The Prince's answer.

MOst Holy Father, *I received the* Dispatch *from your* Holiness *with great content, and with that* Respect *which the* Piety, *and care wherewith your* Holiness *writes, doth require. It was an unspeakable pleasure to me to read the* Generous Exploits *of the Kings my* Predecessors, *to whose* Membry Posterity *hath not given those praises, and Elogies of* Honour, *that were due to them. I do believe that your* Holiness *hath set their Example before my Eyes, to the end that I might imitate them in all my* Actions, *for in truth they have often exposed their Estates, and Lives for the Exaltation of the* Holy Chair; *And the courage with which they have assaulted the Enemies of the Cross of Jesus Christ hath not been less then the* Care *and thought which I have to the end that the* Peace *and* Intelligence, *which hath hitherto been wanting in* Christendom, *might be bound with a bond of true concord: for like as the common Enemy of* Peace, *watcheth alwayes to put Hatred and* Dissention *between* Christian Princes, *so I believe that the* Glory *of* God

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requires *that we should endeavour to unite them. And I do not esteem it a greater* Honour *to be descended from so great* Princes *then to imitate them in the* Zeal *of their* Piety. *In which it helps me very much to have known the* Mind *and* Will *of* our Thrice Honoured Lord *and* Father, *and the* Holy Intentions *of his* Catholick *Majesty to give a happy* Concurrence *to so laudable a* Design: *For it grieves him extreamly, to see the great* Evil *that grows from the* Division *of* Christian Princes, *which the* Wisdom *of your* Holiness *foresaw, when it judged the* Marriage, *which you pleased to design, between the* Infanta *of* Spain *and my* self, *to be necessary to procure so great a good; For 'tis very certain, that I shall never be so extreamly affectionate to any thing in the* World, *as to endeavour allyance with a* Prince *that hath the same apprehension of the* true Religion with my self. *Therefore I intreat your* Holiness *to believe* that I have been alwayes far from encouraging Novelties, or to be a Partisan of any faction againſt the Catholick, Apostolick, Roman Religion. *But on the* contrary, *I have sought all occasions to take away the* suspicion *that might rest upon me; and that I will imploy my self for the* Time to come, *to have but one* Religion, *and one* Faith, *seeing that we all believe in* One Jesus Christ. *Having resolved in my self to spare* nothing that I may have in the World, *and to* suffer all manner of Discommodities, *even to the* hazarding *of my* estate *and* life, *for a thing so pleasing unto* God. *It rests only that I thank your* Holiness *for the permission which you have been pleased to afford me, and that I may pray* God *to give you a blessed* Health *here, and his* Glory, *after so much travel, which your* Holiness *takes within his* Church.

Signed,

CHARLES STUART.

A fatal Letter.

It may well be a Quere, *Whether* this *profession* of the *Prince*, in *suffering all discommodities*, even to the *Hazarding* of *Estate* and *Life*, did not rest upon him at his *Death?* as may be said hereafter; But there is a long *Race* for him to run, before he come to that *End*. It seems he had either a good Will to write this Letter, or a bad *Council* to indite it, or both conjoyned, that were as careful to please the *Pope* as they were *hopeful* it would never come to see the *light*, till the flame of it would be too visible. For if the Prince intended *Really* (when he had *power*) to introduce *Popery* into *England*, this Letter in a bloody colour too apparently would have been discovered; and if his intentions were formal, and only to close with the *Pope* for his present accommodation, how black would every *Character* of this letter look to the *Roman Rubrick*, and what a Tincture of *Scandal* would it leave upon the true *Religion?* for *Fallere fallentem*, may be a fit *Motto* for a bad man, not a good *Christian*; so that whatsoever his *Intentions* were, the *Act* was evill: And I could suspect it

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The Diſpenſation comes to *Madrid*.

it is a forged Letter, but that it hath been aſſerted by ſo many *Authors* both at home and abroad.

The *Pope* finding by this letter, and ſome other private intimations, the *Princes* good affections to the *Roman See*, thought it high time to dally no longer, but to draw him altogether with the *Cords* of *Love*; therefore he diſpatches the *Diſpenſation* to his *Nuntio* at *Madrid*, ſix months after the Prince's arrival there, with a little *Bob* at the *Tail* of it, yet to amuſe them: Which was, That the *King* of *Great Britain*, and the *Prince*, ſhould give *Caution* to perform what was *ſtipulated* between them and the *King* of *Spain*, eſpecially in thoſe *Articles* which were in favour of the *Roman Catholicks* in *England*, and other his *Majeſtie's Dominions*; Requiring at leaſt, ſome *Soveraign Catholick* Prince ſhould engage for them by oath. This made ſome little demur; for being ſent into *England*, the *King* anſwered, That he could give no other *Caution* but his own, and the Princes *Royal Words* and *Oaths*, Confirmed by his *Council of State*, and Exemplified under the great *Seal of England*. But this would not ſatisfie. Therefore the *King* of *Spain* undertook it, and it was thought a *Spaniſh Device*, That by undertaking ſuch an engagement, he might not only the more endear himſelf to the *King* of *Great Britain*, and to the Prince his *Brother*, but have a more colourable *pretext* to make War againſt *England*, if the *Roman Catholicks* there had not *full ſatisfaction* and freedom according to the *Articles*; and the *King* of *Spain* knowing or aſſuring himſelf that no Catholick Prince would take ſuch an Oath, offered himſelf to *ſatisfie* the Pope. And a Committee of *Eccleſiaſticks* in *Spain* were appointed to debate the *Caſe* in Relation to the *King's conſcience*, whether he might take ſuch an Oath for them? and they (being doubtleſs reſolved on it before) concluded *Affirmatively*. And that if the *King* of *Great Britain*, and *Prince* ſhould fail in the performance of theſe *Capitulations*, the *King* of *Spain* might ſave his Oath, by vindicating the *Breach* thereof upon them with his *Sword*. And now this *Monſter* difficulty being overcome by the *Spaniſh Bravery*, the very ſame time *Articles* that our King and Prince had ſigned (as are before related) were ſent into *England* for our King and his privy *Council* to ſwear to, and there was not a Rub left for either party to ſtumble at.

But whilſt theſe things were in *motion* in *Spain*, they were much regretted, and badly reſented in *England*. The Spirit almoſt of the whole Nation being averſe to this Union, which made many vent their *Paſſion* by their *Pens*, as well as their tongues. Amongſt the reſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, knowing that a *Toleration* was to be admitted (though he ſtood tottering in the *King's* favour, and had the badg of a *Puritan*

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clapt upon him) thought it better to discharge his Conscience, though he hazarded all, rather than be silent in such a Cause, where the Glory of God, and the Good of the *Kingdom* were so higly concerned. Therefore he writes this letter to the *King*:

The Archbishops letter to the King against a Toleration.

May it please your Majesty,

I *Have been too long silent, and am afraid by my* Silence *I have neglected the* Duty *of the* Place *it hath pleased God to call me unto, and your Majesty to place me in. And now I humbly crave leave I may discharge my* Conscience *towards God and my* Duty *to your* Majesty: *And therefore I beseech your* Majesty *give me leave freely to deliver my self, and then let your* Majesty *do with me what you please. Your* Majesty *hath propounded a* Toleration of Religion: *I beseech you, Sir, take into your consideration, what the Act is, next what the consequence may be. By your Act you labour to set up that most* Damnable *and* Heretical Doctrine *of the* Church *of* Rome, *the* Whore *of* Babylon. *How Hateful will it be to God, and grievous unto your good* Subjects, *the true* Professors *of the* Gospel; *that your* Majesty, *who hath often disputed, and learnedly written against those wicked* Heresies, *should now shew your self a* Patron *of those* Doctrines, *which your* Pen *hath told the* World, *and your* Conscience *tels your Self, are* Superstitious, Idolatrous, *and* Detestable? *Add hereunto what you have done in sending the* Prince *into* Spain, *without the consent of your* Council, *the* Privity *and* Approbation *of your* People. *And though, Sir, you have a large Interest in the* Prince, *as the Son of your Flesh, yet hath the people a greater, as the Son of the Kingdom, upon whom (next after your Majesty) their Eyes are fixed, and Welfare depends. And so tenderly is his going apprehended, as believe it, Sir, however his return may be safe, yet the drawers of him to that* Action *so dangerous to himself, so desperate to the Kingdom, will not pass away unquestioned, and unpunished. Besides this* Toleration *which you endeavour to set up by* Proclamation, *cannot be done without a* Parliament, *unless your* Majesty *would let your* Subjects *see, That you will take unto your self a liberty to throw down the* Laws *of the Land at your* Pleasure. *What dreadful* Consequence *these things may draw after them, I beseech your* Majesty *to consider. And above all, lest by this* Toleration, *and discontinuance of the true profession of the Gospel, whereby God hath blessed us, and under which this Kingdom hath for many years flourished, your Majesty do not draw upon the Kingdom in general, and your Self in particular, God's heavy Wrath and Indignation. Thus in discharge of my* Duty *towards God, to your Majesty, and the place of my* Calling, *I have taken humble Boldness to deliver my* Conscience. *And now, Sir, do with me what you please.*

Thus did our *Solomon* in his latter time (though he had fought with

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Arguments for and againſt a Toleration.

with the Beaſts at *Epheſus*, as one ſaith of him) incline a little too much to the *Beaſt*. Yet he made his tale ſo good to the *Archbiſhop of Canterbury* (what reſervations ſoever he had) that he wrought upon the good old man (afterwards) in the *Concluſion* of the work, to ſet his Hand as a Witneſs to the *Articles*. And his deſires were ſo heightned to the *Heats* of *Spain*, (which boyl'd him to ſuch a *Diſtemper*) that he would liſten to nothing, and almoſt yield to any thing, rather than not to enjoy his own *Humour*. *Divers* of his intimate *Council* affecting *Popery*, were not ſlack to urge him to a Toleration, and many *Arguments* were uſed inciting to it: As that *Catholicks* were the King's beſt and moſt peaceable *Subjects*, the *Puritans* being the only Sticklers and the greateſt Diſturbers of the *Royal peace*, trenching too boldly upon the *Prerogative*, and ſtriving to leſſen the Kingly *power*; But if the King had occaſion to make uſe of the *Catholicks*, he ſhould find them more faithful to him, than thoſe that are ever conteſting with him. And why ſhould not *Catholicks* with as much ſafety be permitted in *England* as the *Proteſtants* are in *France*? That their Religion was full of *Love* and *Charity* (where they could enjoy it with freedom) and where *Charity* layes the *Foundation*, the upper *Building* muſt needs be *ſpiritual*. But theſe *Arguments* were anſwered, and many reaſons alledged againſt them, proving the *Nature* of the *Proteſtant Religion* to be *Compatible* with the Nature of the Politick Laws of any State, of what *Religion* ſoever; Becauſe it teacheth that the Government of any *State*, whether *Monarchical* or *Ariſtocratical*, is *ſupream* within it ſelf, and not *ſubordinate* to any power without; ſo that the Knot of Allegiance thereunto is ſo firmly tied, that no *Humane power* can unlooſe or diſſolve it. Whereas on the *contrary*, the *Roman Religion*, acknowledging a *Supremacy* in another, above that *power* which ſwayeth the *State*, whereof they are *Members*, muſt conſequently hold, that one ſtroke of that *Supreme power* is able to unſinew, and cut in ſunder all the *Bonds* which ty them to the *Subordinate* and *Dependent Authority*. And therefore can ill accord with the *Allegiance*, which *Subjects* owe to a *Prince* of their own *Religion*, which makes *Papiſts* intolerable in a *Proteſtant Common-wealth*. For what *Faith* can a *Prince* or *People* expect from them, whoſe *Tenet* is, *That no Faith is to be held with Hereticks*? That the *Proteſtants* in *France* had *merited* better there, than the *Papiſts* had done in *England*: the one by their *Loyalties* to their lawful King, having ranſomed that Kingdom with their Bloods, in the *Pangs* of her deſperate *Agonies*, from the Yoak of an *Uſurper* within, and the *Tyranny* of a Forain *Scepter* without; The other ſeeking to write their *Diſloyalties* in the Heart-Blood of the *Princes* and beſt *Subjects* of this *Kingdom*. That the Number

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ber and *Quality* of the *Professors* of these different *Religions* in either Kingdom is to be observed. For in *France* the Number of the *Protestants* were so great, that a *Toleration* did not make them, but found them a Considerable *Party*, so strong, as they could not have been suppressed without endangering the Kingdom; But a *Toleration* in *England* would not find, but form the *Papists* to be a considerable party, (witness their encrease by this late *Connivency*) a thing which ought mainly to be avoided. For the distraction of a State into several powerfull parties, is alwaies weakning, and often proveth the utter ruine thereof.

The Match concluded in *England*.

These thing were laid open to the King, but all were waved by the *King* of *Spain's Offering*. His engagement to the *Pope* by oath, That he and the *Prince* his son should observe and keep the *Articles stipulated* betwixt them, did exceedingly affect him. And the *Articles* now coming to close up all, they were ingrossed, with a long preamble. Declaring to all the *World* the much desired *Union* betwixt him and the *King* of *Spain*, by the marriage of his son to the *Infanta Maria*, sister to the *King*. To which end he had sent his Son into *Spain* to treat and conclude the match; together with *George* Duke of *Buckingham*, *John* Earl of *Bristol*, Sir *Walter Aston*, and Sir *Francis Cottington*, Baronets, Commissioners on his part for the said Treaty. And on the behalf of the *King* of *Spain*, *John de Mendoza* and *Luna*, Marquess of *Monstes Claros*, *Didacus Sarmiento de Acuna* Earl of *Gondemar*, and *John de Cirica*, Secretary to the *Secret Council*. Which Commissioners for both parts qualified by a *Dispensation* from his *Holiness*, after long and deliberate Dispute in so serious a matter, *Communi consensu atque judicio in aliquot Capitulationes & conditiones, ad rem terminandam & absolvendam accommodata, quas sic se habent, convenerunt*, by one consent and judgment, had determined and concluded the same.

The Preamble to the Articles.

Then followed the before recited *Articles*, after which this long *Postscript* attesting them.

The Postscript to the Articles.

THe Treaty aforesaid, and all and singular the Capitulations *in the same contained and specified, are acceptable to* Us, *and from Our certain Knowledg, for as much as doth concern Us, Our Heires and Successors, We do approve, allow, confirm, and ratifie, all and every of them; and We do promise by these presents,* bona fide, *in the* Word *of a King* (laying aside all Exception *and* Contradiction) *inviolably, firmly, well and faithfully, to keep, observe, and fulfill the same; and to cause them with Effect to be kept, observed, and fulfilled. And laying Our hand upon the Holy Evangelists, We do confirm the same by Oath. In the presence of the Illustrious and Noblemen,* John de Mendoza, *and* Carrolus à Colonna, *Ambassadors*

of


Effigies eximij viri Dñi Didaci Salmientho de Acuña, Comitis de Gondomare Equitis nobili ordinis Calatravæ

of his Majeſty the Catholick *King, Reſident in* Our Court: *Notwithſtanding all* Opinions, Sentences, *and* Laws *to the contrary. In Faith, and* Witneſs *that theſe* Articles, *and all and ſingular the premiſes were ſubſcribed with Our own hand, We have cauſed our great Seal to be put to them, in the preſence of, The moſt Reverend father in Chriſt,* George *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *Primate of all* England, *The moſt reverend Father in Chriſt,* John *Biſhop of* Lincoln, *Keeper of the great* Seal *of* England. *And our beloved Couſins,* Lionel *Earl of* Middleſex, *Lord High Treaſurer of* England. Henry *Viſcount* Mandevil, *Preſident of Our Counſil.* Edward *Earle of* Worceſter, *Keeper of Our privy Seale.* Lodowick *Duke of* Richmond *and* Lenox, *High Steward of Our Houſhold.* James *Marqueſſe* Hamilton, James *Earle of* Carlile, Thomas *Earl of* Kelley, Oliver *Viſcount* Grandiſon; *And the Reverend father in Chriſt,* Lancelot *Biſhop of* Winchester, *Dean of Our Royal Chappel. And Our beloved and faithful,* George *Baron* Carew *of* Clopton, *Maſter of Our great Ordnance of* England. Arthur *Baron* Chicheſter, *of* Belfaſt, *high Treaſurer of Our Kingdom of* Ireland. Thomas Edmonds *Knight, Treaſurer of Our Royal Houſhold.* John Sucklin *Knight, Comptroller of our Houſhold.* George Calvert *Knight, one of Our principal Secretaries.* Edward Conwey *Knight, another of Our principal Secretaries.* Richard Weſton *Knight, Chancellour and ſub-Treaſurer of Our Exchequer. And* Julius Cæſar *Knight, Maſter of our Rolls. All of them of Our* Privy Council. *Dated at Our* Palace *at* Weſtminſter, *the twentieth day of* July, *in the one and twentieth year of Our Raign.*

This Train of *Witneſſes* are ſet down to ſhew who, were then of Our King's Council, though ſome of them ſet their hands to it much againſt their wills; and ſwore with as little zeal to obſerve and keep (as much as in them lay) all the aforeſaid *Articles.* Such Power have Kings over mens Reaſons and Conſciences.

There was ſome little Conteſt betwixt our King and the King of *Spains Ambaſſadours* about ſome *particular Ceremonies* obſerved in ſwearing of theſe *Articles.* For our King having written, and ſpoken againſt the *Popes Holineſs*, would not admit him to be ſo ſtyled in his *Oath*; But the *Ambaſſadours* refuſed to proceed further unleſs that Title were conſented unto; ſo that Our King (affecting ever to be accounted a *Peace-maker*) though he where *Defender of the Faith*, was forced to lay by his *Sheild*, (admitting him to be holy, who was moſt *unholy*) and ſo the ſtrife ended. Some other little things were ſtood upon by the *Ambaſſadours*, but the *King*'s *Patience* ſurmounted all their *Demands.* And in the *Cloſe* of the *Buſineſſe*, he invited the *Ambaſſadours* to a *Royall* Feaſt at *Whitehal*; where after dinner, retiring into the *Council-Chamber*, The *King*

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King took another private oath, to observe certain *Articles* in favour of *Roman Catholicks*, for a free exercise of their *Religion* in all his *Dominions*; Wherein he protested to do what in him lay, that the Parliament should confirm the same. And thus was the great Business accomplished, which gave Our King so much content, that (being transported with an assurance of the *Match*) he was heard to say, *Now all the Devils in Hell cannot hinder it*; So secure was he of it in his own Opinion! But one that heard him, said to others standing by, *That there was never a Devil now left in Hell, for they were now all gone into* Spain *to make up the Match.*

Private Articles sworn to.

Jesuits swarm.

This forwardness of the Union with *Spain*, and indulgence to *Papists*, made *Jesuits* and *Priests* swarm in every corner, setting up their subtile *Traps* to catch wavering *Spirits*. And they could not hear of a man of estate that was sick (for persons of *Quality* were only aimed at) but they would tamper with his weak *conscience*, and persuade him to the *Charity* of their *Religion*, whereby his *Soul* (that was tainted with earthly *corruptions*, and must needs be purged by *Fire*, before it can come to God) should escape the pains of *Purgatory*; or if it went thither, their Prayers could redeem them thence; with such stuff as this deceiving many poor *Soules*. But their most specious jugling *Argument* (which did catch many ignorant persons) was the *Visibility* of their Church in all *Ages* (as they pretended) and their great *Question*, Where the *Protestant* Church was before *Luther*? Among the rest, one *Edward Buggs Esquire*, living in *London*, aged seventy years, and an old professed *Protestant*, was seduced by them in his Sickness, and after his recovery, being troubled in mind, at his request and desire there was a publick conference and dispute appointed at Sir *Humphrey Lind*'s House, *Lind* being a friend to *Buggs*, and a Gentleman of great knowledge, and integrity, who was able to grapple with the *Jesuits* himself, yet he modestly desired Doctor *White*, and Doctor *Featly*, Protestants, to encounter with Father *Fisher* and Father *Sweet*, Jesuits, Where *Featly* laid their jugling tricks at their Doores, protesting to acknowledg himself overcome by them, if they could prove out of any good Author (let them brag what they would of the *Visibility* of their Church in all ages) that in City, Parish, or Hamlet, within five Hundred years next after Christ, there was any visible assembly of Christians to to be named, maintaining, or defending, either the Council of *Trent* in general, or these *Points* of *Popery* in *special*.

Dispute publickly.

1. *That there is a Treasury of* Saints Merits, *and superabundant* Satisfactions, *at the* Popes *disposing.*

2. *That the* Laity *are not commanded by* Christ's *Institution to receive the* Sacrament *of the* Lord's Supper *in both kinds.*

3. That

3. That the *Publick* Service of God in the *Church*, ought, or may be celebrated in an unknown tongue.

4. That Private *Maſſes* (wherein the *Prieſt* ſaith, *Edite & bibite ex hoc omnes*, and yet eateth and drinketh himſelf only) are according to Chriſt's Inſtitution.

5. That the *Pope's Pardons* are requiſite or uſeful, to releaſe *Souls* out of *Purgatory*.

6. That the effect of the *Sacrament* dependeth upon the Intention of the *Miniſter*.

Here Mr. *Sweet* interrupted him, ſaying, Theſe were *Scholaſtical Points*, not Fundamental.

To which Doctor *White* replied, Thoſe things which are defined in your Council of *Trent*, are to you matters Fundamental. And whatſoever *Article* denied, makes a *Man* an *Heretick*, is *Fundamental*.

But the denyal of any of theſe, make a *Man* an *Heretick*.

Ergo, Every one of theſe *Articles* is Fundamental.

To which *Argument*, nothing being anſwered, Doctor *Featly* proceeded.

7. That extream Unction is a Sacrament properly ſo called.

8. That we may worſhip God by an Image.

9. That the Sacred Hoſt ought to be elevated, or carried in ſolemn *Proceſſion*.

10. That *Infidels*, and impious perſons, yea Rats and Mice, may eat the Body of *Chriſt*.

11. That all *Eccleſiaſtical Power* dependeth on the *Pope*.

12. That he cannot err in matters of *Faith*.

13. That he hath *Power* to Canonize *Saints*, to diſpoſe of Kings and Kingdomes at his pleaſure, &c.

But the *Jeſuits* not being able to prove that any of theſe things were in practice in the *Primitive Times of Chriſtianity* (but that they were fobb'd in by ſeveral *Popes* and Councils, in latter times, to ſerve their own turns) waved the *Argument*, and inſiſted upon other *particulars*, not material to the *Point*; ſtriving to confound one thing with another (as their manner is) that they might *complicate*, and wrap up in *obſcurity*, all that was ſpoken: Which Mr. *Buggs* perceiving, reſted fully ſatisfied and confirmed in the *Truth*.

A great judgment, or an unfortunate miſhap.

But thus the *Jeſuits* ranged up and down ſeeking whom they might devour; and their Inſolency being greater, and more notorious at this time, than at others, the miſchief that fell to them in this Height of their *pride* and *greatneſs*, is very remarkable: For at at a *Sermon* in *Black-Friers*, where Father *Drurie*, a *Jeſuit*, vented his peſtilent *Doctrine* to an *Auditory* of near three Hundred people, the Floor of the *Chamber* (being an upper room) fell down, and killed the *Preacher*, and almoſt (if not) a full Hundred of his *Auditory* outright, maiming and bruiſing

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moſt of the reſt, many of them lying a long time under the *Rubbiſh*, crying for Help, and with much difficulty recovered their broken Limbs. Thus many times we might immediately ſee the hand of *God* (who is the Lord of *Life* and *Death*) though through wilful *ſtupidity* (becauſe we muſt judge *modeſtly*) we look upon theſe *accidents* by *mediate* and ſecond cauſes, thinking an old houſe can deſtroy ſo many lives, without the permiſſion of that ſupreme Authority that orders all things both in Heaven, and in Earth.

Brunſwick raiſes an Army.

The *Duke* of *Brunſwick* this Spring (being healed of his wounds received in the laſt *Battle* with *Mansfeldt*, and having gotten an *artificial Arm* to manage his *Horſe*, which he could do with a great deal of dexterity) what by his own intereſt and power, and the aſſiſtance of his friends (being but a younger Brother, and having nothing but the *Biſhoprick* of *Haverſtat* for his portion) he raiſed a great *Army* in the *lower* parts of *Germany*, about *Brunſwick* and *Munſter*, conſiſting of about ſixteen thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, every way compleatly armed, and accompliſhed with a gallant Train of *Artillery*: The Horſes, Wagons, and Carriages, in ſuch trim and ſuitable *Equipage*, as ſhewed by their ſuitableneſs in *furniture*, they had not been patched up, nor haſtily hurried together. His *Deſign* (being invited thereto) was to joyn with the *Prince* of *Orange*, to be revenged of the *Spaniard* for the loſs of his *Arm* the laſt year: But the chief *motive* (as he alwaies pretended) was his reſpects to the *Queen* of *Bohemia*, who in thoſe dayes (whether out of pity for her ſuffering ſo much, or out of fear that Religion would yet ſuffer much more) carried a great ſtream of affection towards her.

His Cheif Officers.

The Commanders in chief of this Army under the Duke of *Brunſwick*, were *Duke William* of *Wimar*, Marſhal General of the Field; *Count Stirum*, General of the Horſe; *Count Iſenburg*, General of the Ordnance; and *Kniphuiſen*, Sergeant Major General; men acquainted with War, and Danger. But whether the Divine Fate had laid a mouldring Hand upon this gallant *Army*, or whether the *Enemy* with a full Hand had charmed ſome of theſe great *Officers* (as by the carriage of the Buſineſs may be ſuſpected) to be of his *party*, was not diſcovered; but the ruin of it was as ſtrange for the manner, as unknown for the means: For after *Brunſwick* had taken a reſolution at *Kettington* in *Brunſwick-land*, to joyn with the *Prince* of *Orange*, he declined all occaſions of encountring with *Tillie* the *Imperial General*, who was with an *Army* at a good diſtance, attending *Brunſwick*'s *motion*, not knowing (as may be conjectured) whether he would bend his courſe into the *Palatinate*, or into the *Low-Countries*; ſo that upon *Brunſwick*'s march he left him in his *Reer*. And leſt *Tillie* ſhould follow him too cloſe, and interrupt him



Iuli Brunonis claro de stemmate Princeps
Vultu Barbaricos acer consurgit in hostes;
Nec Patriæ tristes fert mens generosa ruinas.

him in his *March*, he divided his *Army* into three *Brigades*: The *Van-guard* was commanded by *Duke William*, in which was three *Regiments*, his own, *Colonel Mayers*, and *Colonel Frenkes*. *Kniphuisen* the *Serjeant Major General* had the ordering of the *Battail*, the *Collonels* under him were *Guertsken*, and *Spar*. And the *Count de la Tour* brought up the *Rear*, with *Duke Bernard* of *Wimar*'s *Regiment*, the *Rhinegrafs*, and *Colonel Spees*: with *Direction* that these three *Bodies* should keep equal distance, and observe this *Order*.

Thier Order in Marching.

That having in their March the Enemie at their Backs, if the *Rear-guard* made a *Halt*, the *Battail* should do the same, and consequently the *Van-guard* (according to the best *Discipline*) attending with firm foot, the cause of the *Halt*, that they may be ready to put themselves in order for service, if occasion were presented: The *Army* thus coming to pass any *Passage*, while the *Van-guard* did advance: the *Battail* and *Rear-guard* should make a stand, with the front towards the *Enemy*. The *Van-guard* being past, should face the *Passage*, and stay for the *Battail*, which being past also should do the same for the *Rear-guard*, that they might be ready upon the approach of an Enemy to assist one another. With this *Order* and *Direction*, they began to march into *Westfalia*; *Brunswick* trusting to *Stirem*, *Kniphuisen*, and *Frenck*; who being *Natives* of the Country, gave him assurance of the safe *Conduct* of his *Army*, by wayes short and commodious. And he commanded, especially the *General* of the *Horse*, to send out *parties* of *Horse* every way, that he might have intelligence of the Enemie's *Motions*; who gave him assurance that the *Enemies Army* was not within thirty *English Miles*, when by an other hand at the same time, he had certain notice, that the *Enemy* was within three *English Miles* with his whole *Power*. This miscarriage made *Brunswick* hast away to *Newburgh*, the next Town, where resting a little he took a *Resolution* to march all night, to recover time, and ground again; that *Stirum's* negligence had made him lazily lose. And to that end he commanded *Kniphuisen*, and Count *Isenburg*, to make the *Baggage* march at eleven a clock at *Night*, the *Cannon*, at *Midnight*, and the *Army* two hours after; But *Brunswick* getting up at three a clock in the *Morning*, hoping to find his Commands obeyed, and the *Army* in a good forwardness of advance, found nothing done, and these great *Officers* in their Beds. This disobedience of his Officers troubled *Brunswick* much, but he was constrained to *Diligence*, as well as *Patience*; And hastning them away, they pretended forwardness, but made it eight of the Clock in the morning, before the *Rear-guard* stirred out of their *Quarters*.

The General of the Horse falters.

From *Newburgh* to *Statloo* Bridge (a place of *Security*) was but fourteen *English Miles*, and there were in that way seven

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passages or *Straits*, where a few men might oppose an *Army*. The *Baggage*, *Cannon*, and *Munition*, (except six pieces with *Munition*, that marched with the *Rere-guard*) had past them all, and the Foot three of them without disturbance, but *Count Stirum* with the *Horse* loitered still behind at *Newburgh*, which caused *Brunswick* to make the whole *Army* face about and stay for the *Horse*; sending a strict Command to *Stirum* with all speed to come up and joyn with the Foot, and not to skirmish with the *Enemy* at any rate. But he stayed so long that the *Enemy* began to charge him in the *Rere*, before he advanced to the third *Passage*, So that he sent to *Brunswick* for five hundred *Musqueteers* to amuse the *Enemy* till he had passed the third *Passage* with his *Horse*. The *Duke* sent these *Musqueteers* according to *Stirum*'s desire, and advancing his *Army* forward, he passed the fourth *Passage*, and there made the *Rere* of his foot face about, the better to favour and receive his *Horse*. Which having done, he speeds back towards *Stirum* to see how the Business went with him, and incountring *Kniphuisen*, he asked him what the *Enemy* had done? Who answered, Nothing, all is well. But *Brunswick* going forward, found the contrary, for the *Enemy* had made a great slaughter, laying almost a thousand *Horse* upon the Ground.

This perplexed *Brunswick* exceedingly, so that with some *Passion*, he sent a Command to *Stirum* to advance his *Horse* towards the Body of the *Army*, who had stayed three hours for them at the fourth *Passage*, whither the *Duke* returned to secure the same, planting two Peeces of Demi-cannon at the *Mouth* of the *Passage*, and leaving two thousand *Musqueteers* to guard it, for the assistance of the *Horse*, if the Enemy should come to charge them at the Entrance; and so he marched forward with the rest of the *Army*. But *Stirum* drew the Horse into a Body under the side of a Wood, which was in the middle of a spacious plain, betwixt the two *Passages*, and that brought the *Enemy* to a stand: for they suspected the whole *Army* stood in *Battalia* behind that Wood, and therefore did not advance, which shewed, they watched only for advantages. And *Stirum* seeing the Enemie at a stand, drew his Horse towards the fourth *Passage*, which the Enemy observing made all the haste after that could be, to pelt them in the *Rere*, but the Horse passed the fourth *Passage* before the Enemy came up

So doth the Sergeant Major General.

Then *Brunswick* drew off his Cannon, and marched away to the fifth *Passage*, leaving *Kniphuisen* (who undertook it voluntarily) with two thousand *Musqueteers*, to make good that *Passage*, which was of that advantage, that half the men might have done it, and two *Regiments* of Horse were left to give assistance to the Foot, to bring them off when they should retire, and joyn with the *Army*. But the *Van-guard* of *Brunswick*'s Army had

had ſcarce entred the fifth *Paſſage*, but he diſcovered ſome *Muſqueteers* running towards a Wood, that was on this ſide, and not far from the fourth *Paſſage*, and riding back to ſee whether all ſtood firm, he met *Kniphuiſen*, and askt him if the *Paſſage* was made good? Who anſwered, *Take you no care, truſt me.* But preſently diſcovering ſome of the *Officers* that had command of the *Muſqueteers* running towards the *Army*, he took a more lively apprehenſion that the *Paſſage* was loſt, and meeting *Kniphuiſen*, with ſome heat, told him he had betrayed him; But *Kniphuiſen* excuſed himſelf that he could not keep it againſt an *Army*, and complained that the Horſe had abandoned him. But ſaid he, the next *Paſſage* is of as great importance as the laſt, and I will undertake to keep that upon forfeiture of my Head, to redeem my *Credit* again, and to that end he deſired an entire *Regiment* of *Foot*, which the *Duke* granted him, but aſſured him he ſhould anſwer it if any ill ſucceeded by his default.

Whileſt the *Army* was paſſing the fifth *Paſſage*, the *Duke* ſent to know whether the Horſe placed according to his *Direction* in the *Rere*, made good their *Station*, and he had intimation, that the Horſe were retired cloſe to a Wood, and by that *means* diſcovered the Foot to the Enemy. And the *Army* was no ſooner paſſed the fifth *Paſſage*, but *Kniphuiſen* quitted it to the *Enemy*, without ſo much as a *Muſquet* ſhot from them. And the more to weaken his force (before he quitted the *Paſſage*) he comes to the *Duke*, and tells him (but it was not true) that the *Enemy* with thirty *Cornets* of *Horſe* ſtruck towards the left hand, to cut away to the Baggage, to poſſeſs that; And *Brunſwick* looking about, perceived within a little Wood not far off a Body of *Horſe*, which proved to be the *Prince* of *Ouldenburgh*, who was Colonel of a *Regiment* of a thouſand *Horſe*, whom he ſent to reſiſt the *Enemy*, if they ſhould attempt upon the Baggage. And advancing his *Army* to the ſixth *Paſſage*, he paſſed that alſo before the *Enemy* came to it; but here was *Brunſwick*'s *Error* in truſting *Kniphuiſen* the third time, which was only as he ſaid to redeem his former faults, for he gave the keeping of this ſixth *Paſſage* to him alſo, which he delivered to the *Enemy*, at their firſt approach as he did the others; And drawing the *Rere-guard* out of the way on the right hand, (contrary to *Brunſwick*'s commands) and the *General* of the Ordnance ſtriking out on the left hand, with his Body and Cannon; and *Stirum* ſheltring himſelf in the Woods with his Horſe; The *Enemy* advanced freely, (ſeeing them thus ſcattered) and charged on all ſides with his whole Power. But little reſiſtance being made (the *General* Officers leaving the Field) every one ſhifted for himſelf: Some eſcaped over *Statloo* Bridge, many were drowned in the River, the ſlaughter, and ruin was great,

Brunſwick's Army defeated.

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great, so was the *Confusion* and fear. Sir *Charles Rich* being with *Brunswick* in this disorderly business, escaped a great danger, for in their flight, his Horse fell into a Bogg, where *Brunswick* and the rest left him sticking; But being a *Spritely Horse*, (that his Brother the Earl of *Warwick* had given him) with much labour he plunged himself out, and saved both himself, and his Rider.

The Reliques of this broken Army that scaped, the Author saw at *Eltem* on the *Hill*, in *Cleveland*, and this *Relation* was made by the *Duke* of *Brunswick* to *Maurice Prince* of *Orange* for his own Vindication. And from a *French* Copy that the *Duke* gave to the Earl of *Essex*, he translated it then into *English* that some of our Nation there might partake of the true knowledge of his *Misfortunes*. And the *Duke* cited his chief Officers to appear before *Prince Maurice*, where he laid this Accusation to their charge; but either the *Duke* had no *power* over them (being in a strange Country) or no proof against them for this strange *Miscarriage* (being accounted among them *La Fontane de la Guerre*, but Chance of War) for they all escaped without *Punishment*.

And some years after *Kniphuisen* was thought fit in the *Duke* of *Buckingham*'s Voyage to the Isle of *Ree*, to be a field-Officer in the *English Army*, which almost (if not altogether) thriv'd as ill; So uncertain is the true *State* of intricate Transactions; for that which is obvious and visible may be believed an *Error*, but secret mischiefs are left to his *Discovery*, who only knows the heart.

The condition of *France*.

France about this time had her wounds bound up, and stancht the bloody Issue, by the Pacification of *Montpelier*, but it broke out again at *Rochel*, where some *English Ships* did the King of *France* service, pressed thereto by the *Duke* of *Guise*, *Admiral* of *France*, and though it carried a bad savour then, that they should fight against the *Protestants*, being forced thereto, yet it was not so enormous, and dangerous to them, as when the *Duke* of *Buckingham* afterwards, did force the *Van-guard*, a prime Ship of Our *King*'s, and six other gallant Ships, out of the *English* hands, and put them into *French* fingring, that they might do the mischief with them. Which Act was laid upon the *Duke*'s *Account*, among other hainous *Crimes* by him committed, and he had dearly payed for it, if the *Prince* his Fellow-Traveller (in the first year of whose *Reign* it was done) had not acquitted him.

But in their intimate and secret Counsels in *France* it was debated, whether it were not better to pull such a *Goad of Hereticks* (as they called the *Protestants*) out of the side of the Kingdome, that stuck there, to their continual *Vexation* and trouble, rather than have their pain perpetually renewed, being impos-

impossible to heal the *Sore*, but by such an extirpation; so much rancour, and inveterate *Malice* sprung up in the Popish Party against them of the *Religion*, that the Animosity of it extended to little less than another *Massacre*. And though Our King (who may be said to love them) gave them no countenance (whatsoever his Promises were) otherwise than by intreating for them (being a tickle and tender point (as he thought) to partake with *Subjects* against their *Prince*) yet God [illegible] them *Deliverance* (such are the Dispensations of his Providence) by one that hated their *Religion*, as much, if not more, than the *French*.

For the King of *Spain* (doubling his *Ambition*) possest himself about this time of some parts of the *Valtolin*, thinking to bound *France* towards *Italie* (the *Alpes* being not so high as his thoughts) as the *Pyrenes* had bounded it towards *Spain*; And the *French* Activity being loath to be cooped up, thought it better to endure a little inconvenience at home, than so much prejudice abroad, and therefore to oppose *Him*, they closed with the *Protestants*. And what was it brought them in *Obedience*? The re-edifying of their ruined *Temples*, the restoring and maintaining their banished *Ministers*, and *Security* in their *Religion* and *Consciences*. So that it was not their *Rebellion* that was cause of the War, but the War made against their *Religion*, caused it to be called a *Rebellion*. Thus when all other means failed, their worst enemies (though much against their wills) proved to be their best Friends.

But to return to the *Spanish Treaty* all this while in *Agitation*. As soon as the *Articles* Our King had sealed, and sworn to observe, were come into *Spain*, and the *Prince* had ratified, and comfirmed them, and had sworn to another *Article* there, wherein he ties up his own hands, and gave leave to *Satan*, and all his complices to buffet him (which was, To permit at all times, that any should freely propose to him, the Arguments of the Catholick Religion, without giving any impediment; and that he would never directly, nor indirectly permit any to speak to the *Infanta* against the same) the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Spain* (as it were) shook hands to the *Agreement*. Preparations were made in *England* to entertain the *Infanta*, a new *Church* built up at Saint *James* the *Prince*'s house; the Foundation stone (with much *Ceremony*) laid by *Don Carlos* a *Coloma* the *Spanish* Ambassadour, for the publick exercise of her *Religion*; Her very Shadows are courted in every *Corner*, *Painters* being set a work to take the Height and *Dimensions* of this new *Star* that was to rise in the *North*, before it appeared. Such as hoped to flourish by her influence, grew up to exuberancy; what would they do then when they found the effects of it? Why? be drowned in their own redundancy: For the *Moderate*

The Match concluded in *Spain*.

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rate Spirit did foresee what bad *Omens* this *Apparition* did threaten. On the other side, in *Spain* the *Substance* is as much courted as the *Shadow* is here, with the *Title* of *Princess* of *England*, her *Maiden Restraints* are taken off, and she may come abroad to publick Meetings, where now their Eyes may prattle loving *Stories*; though the great *Courtier Olivares*, gave it no better *Title*, than, *The Prince watches the* Infanta *as a Cat doth a Mouse*, too gross an *Expression* for a *Master* of those *Ceremonies*. And in fine there was such an *Union* betwixt the two Crowns, that it might well be said *Philip* and *Jacob* made one *Holy-day*.

The *Palatine* affairs waved.

But this closing betwixt *England* and *Spain*, made the breach the wider in the House of the *Palatine*; the *Restitution* of the *Palatinate*, and the *Electorate*, to the *Queen* of *Bohemia*, and her *Children*, being waved in the *Treaty*; and a great sum of Money proposed as a *Dowry*, which was also lessen'd after the first *Proposition*, and some part of it promised to be sent with *Her* in *Jewels* (which as one said might be *Counterfeit* as the rest of their Actions) yet Our King accepted of all, so eager was He and greedy of the *Match*, that no *Obstacle* could stand in his way, which he did not remove. But there was some under-hand promise; that the *Infanta* among the *Courte-Complements*, should work that feat, in presenting the *Restorative* of that *Dignity*, and *Country*, for a break-fast, to ingratiate her Self with the *Prince* her *Husband*, and as a pawn of her good Will and Affection to the *English Nation*: And these *Promises* with the *Spanish* stamp, were taken in *England* for current Payment, so that all things tended to a *Conclusion*.

New Resolutions on both sides.

But time in *Spain* came too swift upon them, they were willing the *Infanta* should winter there, but knew not well how to delay the *Prince* longer. And as they were in this plunge, ruminating upon, and striving to find out some new *Remora*; to help them, Pope *Gregory* the fifteenth (that had granted the *Dispensation*) dies; and then their *Subtilties* flew upon that accident to make the *Dispensation* invalid; yet with a Reserve to keep up our *Prince*'s *Spirit* that it should be no hinderance to the *Match*; for the new *Pope* would instantly do it; if not, it should be dispatched by the *Dean* of the *Cardinals*; and the *King of Spain* assured the *Prince*, That if he would stay till *Christmas* the *Marriage* should be really *celebrated* then. These delayes coming one on the neck of another, and the *Duke* of *Buckingham* having taken some disgust in *Spain*, presented all things to our King in the worst habit he could put upon them; For there had been some jarrs betwixt him, and *Olivares*. Two great *Favourites* though of different Kingdoms, could not well *squat* in one *form*. *Olivares* hunted *Buckingham* so close that he had almost caught him in his own *Burrow*, but instead of his

Game

Game he incountered ſome *Vermin* (which darkneſs could not diſtinguiſh,) who bit him ſhreudly; and whether it were by this *Common Hunt* I know not, but I am ſure it was by the *Common-Cry*, that he was ſo diſpleaſed with the *Spaniſh* for it, that he afterwards much inclined to the *French*. I acknowledge the *Gravity*, and *Dignity* of *Hiſtory*, ſhould not appear in ſuch *Metaphorical* Habiliments, but that we now live in an *Age* where *Truth* is forced to ſhroud her ſelf in ſuch *Attire*, leſt ſhe ſhould have imprinted on her face a Mark of Malice againſt *Greatneſs*; which if it be not ballanced with Goodneſs and Piety, is but an empty and frothy Title.

Buckingham angry.

But it was ſaid this Tetrical Humour made *Buckingham* diſlike all the *Spaniſh* proceedings, and juſt in the nick when it was on him, the *Queen of Bohemia*, by a private meſſage, gave him ſome intimation, that *She* and her *Children* were to be thought on, inviting him to be a Witneſſe to the *Chriſtning* of one of them, which came fit to his acceptation, not ſo much out of affection to the one Party, as in oppoſition to the other. And what diſreliſhed with him, gave an ill *Savour* to Our King, who having cauſe enough to diſlike the *Spaniſh delaies*, and finding the *Hearts* of the People bent againſt the *Match*, and ſome neer him, as the *Duke* of *Lenox*, made *Duke* of *Richmond* when *Buckingham* had his Title, that the *Scots* might ſtill precede the *Engliſh*; and the *Marqueſs Hamilton* made Earl of *Cambridge* to intitle him a Peer the laſt Parliament, a man of a gallant, and ſtately preſence, on whom the King much liſtened to, and others having as little affection to it. The hopes of a Daughter of *France* left to give life yet to a *Royal Race*, did bate ſomething of Our King's keen edge; ſo that he wrote to *Buckingham*, *That he could not expect after ſo long a ſtay in* Spain, *and ſo little done, that they had any cordial intention to perfect the Treaty, and therefore conjured him to bring his Son back with all ſpeed; but if his Sonnes youthful follies ſhould tye him to a long expectation, he chargeth him by his allegiance to come away and leave him there.* This letter the *Duke* ſhewed to the Prince, and it wrought ſo upon him, that he took a ſuddain reſolution to go home.

The *Duke* and *Olivares* quartel.

The *Grandees* of *Spain* having notice thereof, were much troubled, for their *Deſign* was to detain the Prince there all Winter, not only hoping thereby to turn him to their *Religion*, but to marry him to the *Infanta*, that there might have been a *Co-union* between them, that ſhe being with *Child* before the *Spring*, they might keep her there till ſhe were delivered, that ſo, the Child might be bred up and *naturalized* a *Spaniard*, both in affection and *Religion*, which this ſuddain *Reſolution* hindring, it ſomewhat ſtartled them. *Olivares* told *Buckingham*, that he had promiſed the Prince ſhould admit of *Communion* with ſome *Jeſuits* of theirs in Matters of *Religion*.

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And the *Duke* answered, there had been some already with him, but the Prince (he said) was so well setled in *Religion*, that he was not to be further altered. *Olivares* replied, *You gave me some assurance and hope of the* Prince's *turning* Catholick. The *Duke* told him, *it was false*. The *Conde* in a great rage broke from him, with so much impatience, that he was scarce able to contain himself, went to the Prince, and told him how unworthily *Buckingham* had served him; And after his complaints to him he found out the *Baron Kensington*, whom he looked on with an eye of good respect, his *Civilities* and Carriage obliging every where, venting his passion to him; telling him that *Buckingham* had given him the Ly, and that there was nothing a man of *Honour* could be more sensible of. That it bred a great distraction in him, betwixt his affection to his *Master*'s *Honour*, and his own: For if any evil did redound to *Buckingham* by his hand, (being a Person so near the Prince who had honoured the Court of *Spain* with his presence, and run through great and dangerous hazards, out of affection to his *Master*'s *Sister*, upon whose actions now all the Christian World are gazing) it would reflect upon the Honour of his *Master*, and when his own Honour comes in competition with his *Master's*, the least must give way to the greatest; therefore he desired the Lord of *Kensington* to tell the *Duke*, That he had so much of a *Gentleman*, as to be sensible of the injury, and so much Power and Courage as to revenge himself, but rather than his *Master*'s *Honour* should suffer, he would be the sufferer. The *Duke* sent the *Conde* word again by the said Lord, That he laid a thing to his charge that would not admit of a less sharp answer, for when his Honour comes in competition with the *Conde's* he had rather that should suffer than his own. His Passion was quick but not durable, hot but not revengful; And he held so high an esteem of the *Conde*, that he was more willing to venture upon his Sword than his Malice.

Buckingham goes to the Ships.

This business being waved by the *Conde's* discretion, and they seeing the Prince's intention bent homeward, made preparation of Carriages to the Sea-side. The *Duke* of *Buckingham*'s departure was suddain, giving them no time to prepare for him, pretending a great Charge to look after the Port of St. *Andero* in *Biscaie*, where the *Royal Navy* of *England*, under the Command of his Father-in-Law the Earl of *Rutland*, attended his *Directions*, that all things might be accommodated for his young Master: not caring a Fig for the *Ceremony* of a *Spanish* farewel, which happily he might fear, and therefore strive to avoid, and which their gravities, as they do all other things, draw out at full length. But because they should not think he ran away, he gave them a short signal of his *Departure*, and left the Prince to manage his own Busines. And that the Prince's change



The right Honorabell FRAVNCIS MANNERS
Earle of Rutland Baron Roſs of Ham:
lake Beluoire and Truſsutt. and Knight
of the Honorable order of the Garter.

change of *Soil*, and *Ayr*, the great *Volatile* of *Fancy*, might produce no change in his *Affection*, the King of *Spain* and *He*, both took ſolemn Oaths to accompliſh the Marriage, and to make the Eſpouſals ten daies after the *Diſpenſation* from the new Pope ſhould arrive. And a Procuration was ſealed by the Prince, to the King of *Spain*, and *Don Carlos* his Brother, and left in the Earl of *Briſtol's* hand to perfect the *Work*.

Among the *Specious Ceremonies* indented betwixt theſe two great Princes, the richneſs of the Gifts, and Preſents, that paſt among them, were highly remarkable. The King of *Spain* preſented the Prince, and all his Noble Train, and the Prince filled the Court of *Spain*, as it were, with *Jewels*, no Perſon of *Quality* or *Merit*, but his name was recorded in the *Inventory* of the *Princes Bounty*, as if *England* had diſfurniſhed, and made bare her own Neck, to adorn the Breaſts of *Spain*. The Pirnce preſenting his *Miſtris* with ſuch a *Neck-lace* of *Pearl*, that all *Spain* could not Parallel: *Pearls* that had been long pluckt from their Watry Beds, and had left few fellows there. For the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Divers throughout the *Catholic Empire*, could never yet find the like. But theſe upon the Breach were returned again, though it be now indifferent whether the *French* or the *Spaniſh* have them. The *Duke* of *Buckingham* was not cloſe *handed* in diſtributing his *Jewels* to the *Beauties* of *Spain*, though his farewel was private, his *Bounty* was public, More ſuitable to his *Maſters Honor*, than his *Own*; which the Lord *Treaſurer Middleſex* found, and repined at.

Gifts and preſents on both ſides.

The Prince took leave of the *Queen* of *Spain* and the *Infanta*, prepared for it, in their greateſt Magnificence, attended with all their train of *Grandees* and *Ladies*. The *Queen* ſpoke her own *Adieu* in *French*, which the Prince returned in the ſame *Language*. But the Earl of *Briſtol* was the *Medium* betwixt the Prince and his *Miſtris*, who if he may be believed, ſet her Heart to make Her ſelf *Grateful*, and therefore this parting could not be acceptable to her; one of her *Arguments* being, *If the* Prince *loved me, he would ſtay for me*; but now the Time of parting approaching, thoſe Arguments were laid aſide, and the *Superficial Ornaments* of public Interview, like a Cloud, interpoſed it ſelf betwixt them, ſo that what was darkly lodged in their thoughts, could only find light by the *Eyes*. Their Tongues (the *Common Orator*) could tell what was fit to ſay, when there were ſo many by to hear, and if the *Eyes* had learn'd the *Language* of the *Heart*, they quickly forgot it, becauſe they never met again to practiſe it.

The Prince leaves *Madrid*.

The King of *Spain* brought our Prince to the *Eſcurial* (which was part of his way to the Sea ſide) a Houſe of that *Superbous*, and elegant *Structure*, that I cannot paſs by it without vailing to it, and ſpending ſome time in the ſurvey of it. The *Spa-*

Comes to the *Eſcurial*.

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niard proudly boast it to be the eighth Wonder of the *World*; It was built by *Philip* the second upon a *Spiritual Foundation*, which heightned into Superstition, produces the most *stupendious* effects. *Philip* at the Siege of Saint *Quintin*, was perswaded by his Officers, experimented in War, that if ever he would take the Town, he must batter down a *Monastery* of *Friers* (dedicated to Saint *Lawrence*) that stood in his way; which he was with much difficulty wrought to, but that Act (though it effected the Work) dinted such an impression upon his *Conscience* that he vowed to make the *Martyr* a full and ample *Reparation*. Some say it was for the *Battail* he gained against the *French* neer St. *Quintin*, when they came to relieve it, upon that *Saints* day; but whether either or both (for they were both accomplished) he built this *Mighty Fabrick*, in form of a *Gridiron* (the *Emblem* and *Instrument* of his *Martyrdom*) the *Handle* whereof, is the *Kings Palace*, of a vast *Capacity*, and the Square of the *Gridiron*, is divided into twelve spacious *Quadrangles*, in which are arched *Cloisters*, one above, the other below; all dedicated to *Religious Orders*, endowed with a *Revenue* enough to make the best *Piety Proud*, every *Frier* in the *Monastery* having his Man, and his *Mule*, so that they live there more like *Princes* than *Priests*. And in the middle of the *Square*, stands a *Magnificent Cathedral Church*, under the high *Altar* whereof there is a Vault, or rather *Stately Chappel*, of most excellent *Polished Marble*, built round like an *Old Roman Pantheon* (which because it resembled *Heaven*, the *Romans* placed there the images of their Gods) and this the *Founder* made the *Burial*-place for the Kings of *Spain*; establishing this *Order* (which is precisely observed) that no *Queen* shall be buried there that is not Mother to a *Prince*; nor none of the King's Children but the first born Son. And round about this *Round*, in the Marble Wall, placed in Stately Order, are many excellently contrived *Arches*, of wrought and Burnish'd *Marble*, and in every *Arch* a beautiful and curious Coffin (either of black *Marble* or *Jet*,) of whole stone, covered with the same, which are to put the embalmed *Bodies* in. So that lying there, they seem as if they were inthroned, the *Beauty* of the *Place* is so resplendent about them; the *Richness* of the *Silver lamps*, and Candle-sticks blasing with *Tapers*, adds to the shining *Brightness* of the *Marble*, and gives a glorious *Lustre*. To speak of the *Riches* of their golden Crosses, and *Chalices*; the Wonders of their *Giant*-like *Statues*, and the pleasure of ther *Grottoes*, Gardens, Walks, Fountains, and *Aqueducts*, would take up more time, than is fit to allow them here. In fine, it is so transcendently full of admiration, that it is to be feared they that injoy the pleasures thereof (saving their *Merits*) will look for no other

The Description of it.


MTHI ADIV
PHILIPPVS II. HISPANIÆ REX, XLIII. BRABANTIÆ



FRANCOIS de Moncada Marquis d'Aytone
General de L'armee du Roy d'Espaigne
D. Mancornet excu

other *Heaven*: For certainly *Purgatory* (though it be the *Pope's* Kitchen Garden) hath no ſuch Walks in it, no more had old *Elizium*, and therefore this cannot be the way to *Heaven* unleſs it be through *Mahomet's Paradiſe*.

Here the Prince being feaſted ſealed the *Proxie*, and ſwore to perform the *Marriage* as aforeſaid; And the day of *Departure* being come, there was a Stagg lodged in the way, whoſe *Chace* gave the *King*, and *Prince* ſome *Recreation*. The *Prince* was attended by the Lord *Kenſington*, and the Earl of *Briſtol*, who was the *Prince's* Interpreter; the King of *Spain*, (by intention) only with *Olivares*, and the Marqueſs *Davila*: *Olivares* was grand Maſter of the Horſe to the *King* of *Spain*, and neereſt Attendant to his *Perſon*, but to ſhew the *Spaniſh Civility*, he always waited on the *Prince*, and the *Marqueſs Davila* his brother-in-Law attended on the *King* of *Spain*. After the *Ceremonies* of the *Staggs* death were performed, the King and *Prince* with their *Train* declining into a little Wood adjoining, found a Table *ſpread* with *Variety* of *Meats*, and excellent Wines, provided for them, which entertained them, as well with wonder how it came there, as with *Refreſhment*, after the *Serenity* of the *Air*, and their exerciſe, had quickened their appetites: concluding *Merrily*, as if the *Stagg* had been in the *Plot*, and had yielded himſelf to *Death* purpoſely there, becauſe the *Prince's* neceſſary accommodations were ſo neer. After the *Repaſt* the parting Minute approaching, to perfect all, they gave leave to the exerciſe of *Complements*. The King expreſſing extraordinary Reſpects to the *Prince*, ſetting a high valuation upon his *Merit*, telling him, *Nothing in the World could more oblige him, than the confidence he had of him, to put himſelf into his hands, being unuſual with Princes: But he that valued his Honor above all earthly things, was the more indeared to him, in that he gave him, by this acceſs, an opportunity to expreſs it*: and proteſted, *That he earneſtly deſired a neerer conjunction of Brotherly affection with him, for the more intire Unity betwixt them.* The *Prince* repaying his *Noble* expreſſions with the like *Civilities*, lets him know, how *Senſible he was of thoſe high Favours he had found during his abode in his Court and preſence; which had ſet ſuch an eſtimation upon his worth, that he knew not how to value it, but he would leave a Mediatrix, that ſhould make good his defects, if he would do him the honour, and make him ſo happy, as to preſerve him in the good opinion of her, his moſt fair, his moſt dear Miſtris.* And ſo imbracing each other they parted.

The Prince feaſted there.

The King's & Prnce's compliments parting.

This kind Farewell was upon the twelvth of *September*, the King leaving the *Prince* to be attended to the Sea-ſide, by a numerous train of *Spaniſh* Courtiers, whereof the Principal were *Cardinal Zapata*, the Marqueſs *Aytone*, the Earl of *Gondemar*, the Earl of *Monterie*, the Earl of *Baraias*, who was Steward

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Steward of the King's houſhold, but now the *Manager* of the *Prince's Domeſtical Affairs*. Theſe Grandees, and others, had at Saint *Andero* a fair *opportunity* to ſee ſome of the *Navy Royal* of *England*, and were feaſted aboard the *Prince's* Ship: But at their return towards the ſhore, the *Prince* being with them in the *Barge*, a Tempeſt overtook them with that *Fury*, that they could neither fetch the Land, nor make to the Ships again, and night and darkneſs joining with the *Storm*, the Rowers fainting with labour, becauſe they thought themſelves at the end of their Work, their horror and fear, almoſt heightned to *Deſpair*; In this Calamity yeilding themſelves to the Mercy of the *Seas*, they ſpied a light from a *Ship*, neer which the wind had driven them, that gave new life to *Hope*, and plucking up their Spirits to fetch that *Ship*, with the danger of being broken to peeces by the *Ships* ſide, at laſt they got aboard. This cooled the heat of their *Ceremonies* ſo much, ſo that when the *Tempeſt* was over, they parted. And the *Prince* arrived ſafely at *Portſmouth*, upon the fifth of *October* following, and the next day at *London*, where the *Peoples* joy, elevated above *Bonfire*-expreſſions, might teach miſguided *Princes*, that *LOVE* is the firmeſt foundation of ſecurity, and *Happineſs*.

The Prince in danger by a Tempeſt.

When the *Prince*, and *Buckingham*, met at Saint *Andero*, the *Spaniſh* entertainments did not take them off from minding their Buſineſs: The *Duke* had time in his *Receſs* to mature his *Conceptions*; And whether his adverſeneſs to the *Spaniſh* in affection wrought upon the *Prince*, or whether the *Prince's* affection, that was wrought upon in the *Spaniſh Court*, loſt the *Vigor*, and *Virtue*, by loſing the *Object*, or whether the united *Operations* of both, cannot be determined: But one *Clark* a Creature of the *Dukes*, was poſted back to *Madrid* to the Earl of *Briſtol*, to command him not to deliver the *Procuration* for the *Eſpouſals* (which the *Prince* had ſealed, and ſworn to perform) till he had further Order from *England*; pretending the *Infanta* might after the *Eſpouſals* betake her ſelf to a *Cloiſter*, and defraud him of a Wife. *Briſtol* was much troubled at this *Reſtriction*, That a public Act of ſuch Eminency, betwixt two ſuch great *Princes*, highly obliging, ſhould be ſmothered up by a private *Command* from one of the *Parties*, that had not power to do it, having, in true Juſtice, tyed up his own hands, and when the *Diſhonour* of it would ſo much reflect upon the other *Party*; and therefore he reſolved (notwithſtanding the *Prince's* command) if the *Diſpenſation* came, to make the *Eſpouſals* within ten days according to the agreement: And he would bear himſelf up, from the authority he had under the great *Seal* of *England* to perfect this *Work*, if he had not within the limited time a Command from Our King to the contrary.

A demur upon the eſpouſals.

The



CHARLES BY THE GRACE OF GOD PRIN
ce of Wales, Duke of Cornwell, &c.

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The Prince comes to Court cold in his *Spaniſh* affections.

The *Duke* being jealous of *Briſtol*, from ſome particular *Diſcontents*, and ill *Reſentments* betwixt them, and the *Prince*, fearing he would be too forward in the *Eſpouſals*, aſſoon as they landed in *England* poſted towards the King (who was then at *Roiſton*) where they gave him a fair and plauſible *Narration* of their *Proceedings*, laying the load upon the *Spaniſh Delaies*, and *Briſtol*'s miſcarriages. Which the King as a Father to his Son, and as a friend to his *Favourite*, indulged to, taking their *Account* without examination as good and juſt payment. And his good Brother of *Spain* muſt now be dallied with by *Talion* Law; not falling off in a direct line, but obliquely, that the King might thereby meaſure out to himſelf a way to his own *Ends*. And theſe two great *Oppoſites* to *Spain*, the *Prince* and *Duke*, muſt prepare it, by cloſing with thoſe of the *Council* about the King, and others of the *Nobility*, whoſe judgment, not prejudice, made them averſe to the *Spaniſh Supercilíouſneſs*, cementing their *Power* with that ſtrength that a *Parliament* muſt be called, and the People conſulted with; That they diſcovering to the King the fraudulent proceedings of the *Spaniard*, the King's Integrity and Juſtice in breaking the Treaty might the more appear to the People, and by that means they ſhould be mounted upon the Wings of the Peoples affections, as Enemies to that which was ſo contrary to them. The News of a *Parliament* to break the *Spaniſh* match was quickly carried about, and according to their thoughts, it took much with the People, and gained them much reſpect and *Honour*. But the firſt thing they did was to procure an abſolute Command from the King to the Earl of *Briſtol*, to ſuſpend the delivery of the *Proxie* till *Chriſtmas*, though the *Diſpenſation* came, which they effected, and ſent away with all ſpeed. In which Letter, *Briſtol* had inſtructions to demand the *Reſtitution* of the *Palatinate* and *Electoral Dignity*, which were both waved and neglected in the *Concluſion* of the *Treaty*; but now are ſet a foot again, to let the King of *Spain* ſee the Edge of their Eargerneſs was taken off. For (ſaith the Letter) *It would be a great diſproportion for me to receive one Daughter with joy, and contentment, and leave another in tears and ſighs.*

But *Briſtol*'s power of deferring the *Eſpouſals* till *Chriſtmas*, was to be reſerved to himſelf, and not made publick, till the *Diſpenſation* ſhould come to diſcover it. And there was a *Clauſe* in the *Procuration* left by the *Prince*, that the *Power* of that ſhould be in force but till *Chriſtmas*, and then to expire; ſo that the Execution of it was to be reſpited till it were altogether invalid. And the *Spaniard* for his greater affront muſt make all *Proviſion* ready, for accompliſhing ſo glorious a work, that all the *Eyes* of the *Chriſtian World* looked upon either with diſlike or af-

Preparations in *Spain* for the Marriage.

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affection. The King of *Spain* (to be his own free Trumpet) sending into *England* with the *Prince*, *Don Mendosa de Alcorcana*, to our King to congratulate the *Princes* happy *Voyage* into *Spain*, and his safe return into *England*; And from thence he had instructions to go into *Flanders*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, to make known to all *Princes*, and *Potentates*, *Allies* to the King of *Spain*, how neer the Treaty of *Marriage* (betwixt the *Prince* of *England*, and the *Infanta* of *Spain*) was to be consummated. And the *Polonian* Ambassadour at *Madrid*, that solicited to have the *Infanta* for the *Prince* of *Poland*, when he saw such preparations for the *Match* with *England*, fainted in his *Hopes*, and returned home. For as soon as the *Dispensation* came from the new *Pope* (which was in the Beginning of *December*) Bonefires were made througout all *Spain*, for joy, and the great *Ordnance* every where thundred out the noise of it. The ninth of the month was prefixt for the *Mariage* day, a Tarras being erected betwixt the *Court*, and the next *Church*, almost a quarter of a mile in length, covered with *Tapestry*, for the more magnificence, and all things appointed in the highest *State* for so great a *Solemnity*. Presents were providing in the *Court* of *Spain* for Our *King* and *Prince*; the *Infantas* family (to take into *England*) was setled, and established; *She* had used her best *skill* among the *Sweets* of *Spain*, as one of the *Principal* of them, to cloth her Lord and Husband with some suits of perfumed *Amber* leather, some imbroidered with *Pearl*, and some with gold; *She* had practiced long the *English* tongue to make it natural, by the help of her two *Jesuit Tutors*, *Wadsworth* and *Boniface*, and began to draw the letters which she intended to have written, the day of her *Espousals*, to the *Prince* her Husband, and the King her Father-in-law; Her journey into *England* being resolved on about the Beginning of *March*.

Spanish delaies retaliated.

In this State and perfection were the affairs of *Spain*, when Our King's commands like a Cloud overshadowed the brightness of them. For *Bristol* had now *Order* to declare positively to the *King* of *Spain*, that without the *Restitution* of the *Palatinate* and the *Electoral Dignity*, the *Treaty* should proceed no further. Four *Messengers*, *viz.* Mr. *Killigrew*, *Gresly*, *Wood*, and *Davies*, followed each other at the heels, which raised such a dust of *Discontentment* among the people at *Madrid*, that as some report, they wished they had broken their necks by the way; so highly were the *Commonalty* of *Spain* affected with the *Match*! And if they felt the Influence of this cloudy *Message*, what did the Lady *Infanta*, and the King do? The one to lose her *Lover*, the other to lose his Honour. She whose heart was affected: and He who found himself affronted. But his answer to *Bristol*, was, *The* Palatinate *was none of his to give, and the* Electorate *was in the Power of another*; *but if the Emperor*



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THE HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCE LODWICK DUKE of Richmond and Lenox

Emperor, and the Duke of Bavaria, *would not yield to reaſon, he would Arm himſelf on our King's part againſt them.* But this would not ſatisfie, fair Promiſes having now loſt their *Virtue*; and the King of *Spain* diſcerning a Breach towards, by this *Various Motion*, ſent to the Earl of *Briſtol* to demand no more *Audience* of him, to deliver no more Letters to the *Infanta*, and gave command that none ſhould call her hereafter *Princeſs* of *England*. This was the end of ſeven years *Treaty*. Wherein the King of *England*, a King of *Peace*, in ſpight of all the *Spaniſh Armadoes*, got the Victory, and *Spain* for many years did not receive ſo great an overthrow. Yet they were paid in their own *Coin*: For at the firſt, and in the higheſt *Progreſs* of the *Treaty*, when Our King was ſo eager for the *Match*, in all likelyhood they never intended it; But the *Prince's Preſence* gaining much with both *Sexes*, his Journey into *Spain* being eſteemed among them ſo glorious an action, and the hopes they had now by this *Marriage* to propagate the *Catholick Cauſe*; finding the *Prince*, as they thought, ſomething inclined that way, better digeſted their firſt intentions, and brought it to the ſtate from whence it declined.

Thoughts of a Match with *France*.

The *Duke* of *Buckingham*, by the inſinuation of a long converſe, having brought the *Prince* up to his own *Humor*, taught him to look back to the *Beauty* he had ſeen in *France*, which was neerer to him, that he might remember the *Spaniſh* no more, now eſloigned from him. But the *Treaty* with *Spain* muſt be firſt diſſolved, to give a tincture of Honor to a proceeding with the other, and nothing but a *Parliament* ſhall do that, which they had fore-determined. For a *Parliament* taking away the cauſe, which was a Treaty of Peace, were beſt able to make good the effect, which would be a War that muſt follow it. Therefore a *Parliament* was ſummoned to meet the 12*th* of *February*, but a ſad accident intervened which made it to be deferred for ſome few daies.

A Parliament Summoned.

The *Duke* of *Richmond* dies ſuddenly.

That morning the *Parliament* was to begin, the King miſſed the *Duke* of *Richmond's* attendance, who being a conſtant obſerver of him at all times, the King, as it were, wanted one of his Limbs to ſupport the *Grandure* of *Majeſty*, at the firſt ſolemn meeting of a *Parliament*, and calling for him with earneſtneſs, a Meſſenger was diſpatched to his Lodgings in Haſt, where the King's Commands, and the Meſſengers Importunity, made the *Dutcheſs* his wife, ſomewhat unwillingly, go to the *Duke's* Bed-ſide to awake him, who drawing the *Curtain* found him dead in his Bed. The ſuddenneſs of the affright ſtruck her with ſo much *Conſternation*, that ſhe was ſcarce ſenſible of the horror of it, and it was carried with that violence to the King, that he would not adorn himſelf that day to ride in his *Glories* to the *Parliament*, but put it off to the nineteenth of *February* following,

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lowing, dedicating ſome part of that time to the *Memory* of his dead *Servant*, who might ſerve as a fore-runner to the King, and an *Emblem* to all his People, That in the dark *caverns* of Man's Body, *Death* often lurkes, which no Humane *Prudence*, or *Providence*, is able to diſcover: For the *Dutcheſs* to ſome of her intimates confeſſed afterwards, that *She found the effects of his full Veines* that night that he was found dead the next Morning.

The Dutcheſs of *Richmonds* Legend.

This Lady was one of the greateſt both for *Birth*, and *Beauty*, in her time; but at firſt ſhe went a ſtep backwards, as it were to fetch a Carreer, to make her mount the Higher. She was Daughter to *Thomas Viſcount Bindon*, ſecond Son to *Thomas Duke* of *Norfolk*, and her Mother was eldeſt Daughter to *Edward Duke* of *Buckingham*, both which Dukes ſtriving to become Kings, loſt their Heads. Her *Extraction* was high, fit for her great Mind, yet *ſhe* deſcended ſo low as to marry one *Prannel* a Vintner's Son in *London*, having a good eſtate, who dying, left her *Childleſs*, a young and beautiful Widow; upon whom Sir *George Rodney* a Gentleman in the *Weſt* (ſuitable to her for perſon and fortune) fixing his love, had good hopes from her to reap the fruits of it; But *Edward Earl* of *Hertford* being intangled with her fair *Eyes*, and ſhe having a tang of her *Grand-Fathers Ambition*, left *Rodney*, and married the *Earl*; *Rodney* having drunk in too much affection, and not being able with his *Reaſon* to digeſt it, ſummoned up his ſcattered *Spirits* to a moſt deſperate attempt; and coming to *Amesbury* in *Wiltſhire* (where the *Earl* and his Lady were then *Reſident*) to act it, he retired to an Inn in the Town, ſhut himſelf up in a Chamber, and wrote a large paper of well-compoſed *Verſes*, to the *Counteſs* in his own blood (ſtrange kind of *Compoſedneſs*) wherein he bewailes and laments his own unhappineſs; and when he had ſent them to her, as a ſad *Cataſtrophe* to all his *Miſeries*, he ran himſelf upon his *Sword*, and ſo ended that life which he thought death to injoy; leaving the *Counteſs* to a ſtrict remembrance of her inconſtancy, and himſelf a deſperate and ſad Spectacle of *Frailty*. But ſhe eaſily paſt this over, and ſo wrought upon the good *Nature* of the *Earl* her Husband, that he ſettled above five thouſand pounds a year jointure upon her for life. In his time She was often courted by the Duke of *Lenox*, who preſented many a fair offring to her, as an humble *Suppliant*; ſometimes in a blew Coat with a Basket-hilt ſword, making his addreſſes in ſuch odd diſguiſes; yet ſhe carried a fair fame during the *Earl's* time. After his deceaſe, *Lenox* and *Richmond*, with the great Title of *Dutcheſs* gave period to her *Honour*, which could not arrive at her *Mind*, ſhe having the moſt glorious and tranſcendent heights in *Speculation*: for finding the King a *Widower*, She vow-



The portraiture of the illustreous Princeße Frances Duchess of Richmond and Lenox daughter of Thomas Lo Howard of Bindon sonne of Thomas Duke of Norfok whose mother was Elisabeth daughter of Edward Duke of Buckingham

Anno 1623 inscultum a Guilh. Passeo Londinum

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vowed after ſo great a *Prince* as *Richmond*, never to be blown with the *Kiſſes*, nor eat at the Table of a *Subject*, and this Vow muſt be ſpread abroad, that the King may take notice of the Bravery of her ſpirit; But this *Bait* would not catch the *Old King*, ſo that ſhe miſſed her aim, and to make good her *Reſolution*, She ſpeciouſly obſerved her Vow to the laſt.

When She was Counteſs of *Hertford*, and found admirers about her, She would often diſcourſe of her two Grand-Fathers, the *Dukes* of *Norfolk* and *Buckingham*; recounting the time ſince one of her *Grand-Fathers* did this, the other did that: But if the Earl her Husband came in preſence, ſhe would quickly deſiſt; for when he found her in thoſe *Exaltations*, to take her down, he would ſay, Frank, Frank, *How long is it ſince thou wert Maried to* Prannel? which would damp the Wings of her *Spirit*, and make her look after her *feet*, aſwell as gawdy *Plumes*.

One Little Vanity of this great *Dutcheſs* (with your *Patience*) may yet croud in this *Story*; She was a *Woman* greedy of *Fame*, and loved to keep great *State* with little Coſt: For being much *viſited* by all the *Great ones*, ſhe had her formality of *Officers*, and *Gentlemen*, that gave attendance, and this advantage that none ever eat with her; Yet all the Tables in the Hall were ſpread, as if there had been Meat, and men to furniſh them; but before eating time (the houſe being voided) the Linnen returned into their folds again, and all her people graſed on ſome few diſhes. Yet whether her *Actions* came into *Fames* fingring, her Gifts were ſuitable to the greatneſs of her Mind. For the *Queen* of *Bohemia* (to the Chriſtning of whoſe *Child* ſhe was a Witneſs) had ſome taſte of them. And being blowing up by Admiration for this *Bounty*, either by her own deſign to magnifie her *Merit*, or by others in Mockery to magnifie her *Vanity*, huge Inventories of *Maſſie Plate* went up and down, from hand to hand, that ſhe had given that *Queen*, and moſt believed it; yet they were but Paper preſents, thoſe Inventories had an *non eſt inventus* at the *Hague*, they ſaw the *Shell*, the Inventory, but never found the *Kernel*, the *Plate*. Such difference there is betwixt ſolid worth, and *Airy-paper-Greatneſs*. And it is hoped theſe ſleight intermixtures, will be no great tranſgreſſion, becauſe long ſerious things do dull the *Fancy*.

Of her Viſitants.

The King having digeſted his ſudain loſs of the *Duke* of *Richmond*, and fitted himſelf to make his mind known to his people, in *Parliament*; he went to the *Houſe* the nineteenth, as is ſaid, and opened himſelf to them to this effect.

To teſtifie to the World *how far my mind hath been from eſchewing to aſſemble a* Parliament, *and how willing I have been upon all*

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

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Occasions to have the advice of my people. I have at this present called you, to approve unto you the earnest desire I have ever had, and still have, to deserve the love of my people, by improving your trust, and communicating unto you a Matter of as great Consequence as ever King imparted to his people, to have their advice and Counsel in.

I shall say unto you as Christ said to the Church, I am your Husband, and you are my Spouse. And as it is the Part of a good Husband to procure, and maintain the love of his wife; which he usually doth by often visiting her, and upon extraordinary Occasions communicating the secrets of his affairs unto her, and by all gentle and affable wayes to gain her Love: So in the administration of Government, I desire to carry my self towards my People. There are two wayes by which a King may shew his love to his People. One is, by a constant administration of Justice, according to the Laws established; the other is, by communicating himself to his People, in their Representative, the Parliament. For the first, I know there's no particular Man of you that hath not injoyed the Blessing and Benefit of it; which I will say nothing of, because you have been all Witnesses of it; for who hath not found the fruits of it? If he considers the Peace which my Kingdomes injoy, in the midst of the Miseries our Neighbours are afflicted with. And though I cannot say my Government hath been without Error, yet this I can truly say, and will avouch it before God, and his Angels, That never King governed with a more pure sincerity, and uncorrupt Heart, than I have done, far from all intention, and meaning of the least Error, or imperfection in my Reign.

I have assembled you at this time to perform the other part, which is duely to impart unto you, a Secret, and a Matter of as great importance as can to be to my Estate, and the Estate of my Children; I crave your best, and safest advice, and Counsel, as the Writ whereby you are assembled imports, That the King would advise with you in matters concerning his Estate and Dignity; And as I have ever indeavoured by this, and the like waies, to procure, and cherish the love of my People towards me, So do I hope, and fully believe, that never any King was more beloved of his People (whom you my Lords and Gentlemen do here represent) so I would have you truly represent their loves also to me, that in you as in a true glass I may perfectly behold it, and not as a false glass presents it, not at all, or otherwise than it is indeed. Give me your free and faithful Counsel in this Matter, which is that of which you have often heard, the Match of my Son. Wherein as you may know I have spent much time, with great Cost, in long Treaty, desiring alwaies therein (and not without reason, hoping to have effected my desires) the advancement of my Estate, and Children, and the general Peace of all Christendom. Wherein I have alwaies constantly laboured, depending too much upon fair Hopes and Promises. But at the earnest instance of my Son, I was contented

ted (although it was of an extraordinary Nature) to send him to prosecute his Desires in Spain; and for his more safety I sent Buckingham (in whom I ever reposed the most trust of my Person) with him with this command, to be continually present with him, and never leave him, till he returned safe again unto me; which he performed, though not with such effect as I expected, yet not altogether without Profit; for it taught me this Point of Wisdom, that, Qui versatur in Universalibus, &c. is easily deceived, and it generally brings nothing to good issue; for before any Matter can be fully finished, it must be brought to particulars. I thought before their going, the affairs had been produced to a narrow Point (relying upon their general Propositions) but when they came to the matter, it proved so Raw, as if it had been never treated of, the Generals giving them easie way to evade, and affording them means to avoid the effecting of any thing.

The Particulars that passed in the Treaty, I mean not now to discover unto you, the time being too short, I referre that to Charles and Buckingham, and the Secretaries, who shall relate unto you all the Particulars. And after that, Super totam materiam, I desire your best assistance and advice; what is best and fittest for me to do, for the good of the Common-wealth, the advancement of Religion, and the good of my Son, and my Children of the Palatine. And of Our Estate I know you cannot but be sensible, considering your Welfare consists in Ours, for you shall be sure to have your share in what misery shall befal us, therefore I need to urge no further Arguments unto you for your choicest and surest Counsel. And I assure you in the faith of a Christian King, that it is Res integra, presented unto you, and that I stand not bound, nor any wayes ingaged, but remain free to follow what shall be best advised.

To plant is not sufficient, unless like good Gardiners you pluck up the weeds that will choak your labours; and the greatest weeds among you are jealousies, root them out: for my Actions, I dare avow them before God, but jealousies are of a strange depth. I am the husband, and you the wife, and it is subject to the wife to be jealous of her husband. Let this be far from you! It hath been talked of my remisness in maintainance of Religion, and suspicion of a toleration, but as God shall judge me, I never thought, nor meant, or ever in word expressed any thing that savored of it. It is true, that at times best known to my self, I did not so fully put those lawes in execution, but did wink, and Connive at some things which might have hindred more weighty Affaires: But I never in all my Treaties agreed to any thing, to the overthrow, or disagreeing of those Lawes; But in all I had a chief regard to the preservation of that Truth, which I have ever professed. And in that respect as I have a Charitable conceit of you, I would have you have the like of me also, in which I did not transgress. For it is a good Horseman's part not alwayes to use the Spur, nor keep streight the Rein,

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Reign, *but sometimes to use the* Spur, *and sometimes to suffer the* Reign *more remiss; So it is the part of a* Wise King *(and my* Age *and experience have informed me) sometimes to quicken the* Laws, *with strict* Execution, *and at other times upon just* Occasion *to be more remiss.*

And I would also remove from your thoughts all jealousies, that I might, or ever did question or infringe any of your lawful liberties, or privileges; But I protest before God *I ever intended you should injoy the fulness of all those, that from antient times give good Warrant and Testimony; of which, if need be, I will inlarge, and amplifie. Therefore I would have you (as I have in this place heretofore told you, as Saint* Paul *did* Timothy) *avoid* Genealogies, *and curious* questions, *and quirks and jerks of* Law, *and* idle *innovations, and if you minister me no just* Occasion, *I never yet was, nor ever will be curious or captious to quarrel with you. But I desire you to avoid all doubts, and hindrances, and to compose your selves speedily, and quietly, to this weighty affair. Carry your selves modestly, and my* Prayers *shall be to* God *for you, and my love shall be alwayes with you, that a happy* Conclusion *may attend this* Parliament. God *is my* Judge, *I speak it as a* Christian King, *never any way faring* Man, *in the burning, drie, and sandy* Desarts, *more thirsted for water to quench his thirst, than I thirst and long for the happy success of this* Parliament, *that the good issue of this,* may *expiate, and acquit the fruitless issue of the* former. *And I pray God your Counsels may advance* Religion, *the publick weal, and the good of me, and my* Children.

The Bishop of *Lincolns* short Harangue.

When the *King* had thus ended, the Lord *Keeper Williams*, *Bishop of Lincoln*, and *Speaker* to the *House* of *Peers* (who uses always to make the *King's* mind further known if there be cause) told the *Parliament*, That after the *Eloquent speech* of his *Majesty*, he would not say any thing; for as one of the *Spartan* Kings being asked whether he would not willingly hear a man that counterfeited the voice of the *Nightingale* to the life, made answer, He had heard the *Nightingale*. So for him to repeat, or rehearse what the King had said, was (according to the *Latine Proverb)* to enamel a *Golden Ring* with *studs* of *iron*. He doubted not but that the King's Speech had like *Æschines Orations* left in their minds a sting; And as an *Historian* said of *Nerva*, that having adopted *Trajan*, he was immediately taken away, *Ne post divinum et immortale factum, aliquid mortale faceret*: So he would not dare after his Majesties *Divinum et immortale dictum, mortale aliquid addere.*

This is not inserted to shew the pregnancy, and *Genius* of the Man, but the temper of the *Times*; wherein, *Men* made themselves less than *Men*, by making *Kings* little less than *Gods*. In the *Spanish* Bravery is to be admi-

red,



The right Honourable and right reverend
father in god John Lorde Bishop of Lincolne
Lord Keeper of the greate Seale of England
and one of his Ma.tie mast hon.ble privie
Counsell.

red, and the *French* do not much come ſhort of them, who do not idolize their Kings with *Sacred Soveraign*, immortal, and *Oraculous* expreſſions, but in their humbleſt *Petitions*, give him the *Title* Sir, tell him their *Buſineſs*, and demand *Juſtice* of *him*. But where theſe *Adulations* are admitted, though it doth not ſtrike ſuddenly with ſome incurable *Diſeaſe*, yet the ſame hand can make them conſume, and in the end waſt away to nothing.

But the *Parliament*, though they knew there was an intention of a *Toleration* of Popery upon the cloſe of the *Spaniſh match*, ſealed up (as it were) their *lips*, and would not ſee the light that diſcovered it ſelf through this *cloud* that the King caſt before it (though ſome of the *Commons* had much ado to hold, which he takes notice of at the next Interview, and thanks them for) but they went on directly to his *Buſineſs*, making it their own, forgetting all former miſcarriages. And upon the 24. of this *moneth*, the *Duke* of *Buckingham*, accompanied with the *Prince* as his *Remembrancer*, made a long *Relation* of all the tranſactions in *Spain*, to both *Houſes*, with all the advantage he could, to make good his own *Actions*, ſome of the *Particulars* whereof are already related. And he took the firſt *Diſcovery* of the intention of the *King* of *Spain* not to deal fairly with *Our King* (touching the *Reſtitution* of the *Palatinate*) from the *Arch-dutcheſs* jugling in the *Treaty* at *Bruxels*, which was managed by Sir *Richard Weſton*, our King's *Ambaſſadour* there, who urged for a *Ceſſation* of *Armes* in the *Palatinate* (the *Arch-Dutcheſs* pretending Power to draw off the *Spaniſh* Forces, if *Our King* would firſt draw off his) it came to an *Agreement*; but in the cloſe (after ſome *Delayes*) ſhe confeſſed ſhe had no *Power* to admit of a *Ceſſation*, till ſhe had more particular warrant for it out of *Spain*.

Feb. 24. *Buckinguams* Relation to the Parliament.

That theſe ſhufflings made *Our King* ſend *Porter* into *Spain* for a more reſolute anſwer, in relation to the *Match*, and the *Palatinate*, and aſſigned him but ten dayes to ſtay there; In which time, *Briſtol* fed him with *Hopes*, which he found very *Empty* ones: whereupon *Porter* went boldly to *Olivares*, who (in an open-hearted way) told him plainly that *Spain* meant neither the *Match*, nor *Reſtitution* of the *Palatinate*.

Briſtol ſeeing *Porter* would return with this anſwer, perſuaded him to ſpeak with *Olivares* again, who coming to *Olivares*, found him much incenſed, for relating the private intimation he gave him, to *Briſtol* the *Publick miniſter*, and denyed to ſpeak with *Porter* any more.

Briſtol ſtill puffs up *Our King* with an aſſurance both of the *Match*, and reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, but they proceeding ſlowly, the *Prince* deſired that he might go himſelf into *Spain*, which

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which *Buckingham* firſt broke to the King, who with *Reaſons* laid down for it, was drawn to it.

When the *Prince* came there, the *Match* at firſt was abſolutely denied, unleſs he would be converted, which *Briſtol* perſwaded the *Prince* unto, at leaſt in ſhew, to expedite his Buſineſs.

Then the *Spaniſh Miniſters* urged for a Toleration of *Religion* in *England*, which they hoped (as ſome of them expreſſed) would cauſe a *Rebellion*, and they offered the *Prince* an *Army* to *Aſſiſt* him for the *Suppreſſion* of the ſame.

But the *Prince* finding the *Spaniſh* did but dallie with him, left a *Proxie* with *Briſtol* to conclude the *Match*, when the *Diſpenſation* came, which the *Prince* forbad him to deliver; *Briſtol* nevertheleſs proceeds, and if *Greſley* had not brought a *Revocation* of the *Proxie* from the King over night, *Briſtol* had made the *Eſpouſalls* the next day. And alwaies at the end of every point, he would look upon the *Prince* for his approbation, and allowance, who ſtill as the *Duke* went on, confirmed the ſame. And ſo *Buckingham* concluded, that if the drawing of us out of *Darkneſs* into *Light*, did deſerve thanks, we all owed it to the *Prince*, who by the Hazard of his Perſon, and by his great care and induſtry had done this for *Us*.

The *Duke* highly eſteemed.

The *Parliament* that looked upon the *Duke* with a Sour *Eye* for tempting the *Prince* to ſo dangerous a journey, when they found what excellent effects it had produced, forgot the *Old Murmurs* buzzed againſt him, and with elevated Voices could ſcarce be contained from acknowledging him *The Preſerver of the Nation*. This his diſcovery is Cryed up every where, and who but the *Duke* is become the *Darling* of the *Multitude?* So dear then was the *Prince* unto the People, that they tendred his ſafety as their own! and ſo eaſily might he have retained his *Love*, if by graſping after *Shadows*, he had not loſt the *Subſtance*. *For thoſe people are the ſooneſt deceived that love moſt to admire.*

Little deſerved.

The Parliament were but men, and could at preſent ſee no more than the *Duke* was pleaſed to ſhew them, through the flattering glaſs of this *Relation*. But when *Briſtol* came over, and (as afterwards he) did) diſcover, that the *Duke* carried the *Prince* purpoſely into *Spain* to be the better inſtructed in *Popery:* That he gave hope to the *Spaniſh* Miniſters of *State* of the *Prince's Converſion*, which made them propound far worſe Conditions for *Religion* than had been formerly agreed on: That he profeſſed himſelf a *Papiſt* there; going to *Maſs*, kneeling to, and adoring their *Sacraments*, which the *Pope* being informed of, ſent the *Duke* a *Bull*, to perſwade, and incourage him to pervert

vert the *King* and *Prince*, with other pernicious Crimes laid to his *Charge* in the next King's reign (as may appear in due time) None can blame the People for Mutable affections: for when falſe-hood is ſo impudent as to hoodwink ſuch an *Aſſembly*, with the vail that *Truth* her ſelf is wont to put on, who can at an inſtant diſcover it?

But it was a hard *Condition* for the baniſhed *Palatine* to have ſuch *Mediators* as *Buckingham*, *Briſtol*, and *Weſton*, to make interceſſion for him, the Temper of whoſe *Spirits* was well known, and which way their affections tended. But now the load is all laid upon *Briſtol*; though he were at the diſtance of not being ſenſible of it, yet it was ſo heavy, that moſt Men thought he would never come to have it taken off.

The Parliament adviſe the King to break the Treaties with *Spain*.

But all things were paſſed over by the *Parliament* that reflected upon particulars, having in their eye the general good of the Kingdom, which they ſtrove to manage with advantage. And the Treaty of the Marriage with *Spain* being put into their hands, they cruſhed the brood in the neſt, adviſing the King to break the Treaty, and proclaim open War with that King. Which they did not do ſuddainly, as if they had been eager upon a War, but with good advice, and deliberate conſideration, as the moſt immediate means for the eſtabliſhment of Religion, and ſetled Peace; proteſting to aſſiſt the King, for the regaining of the *Palatinate* with their lives, and fortunes. Upon which *Declaration* and *Reſolution*, the King determined to ſend inſtantly poſt into *Spain*, to his *Ambaſſadors*, to ſignifie to that King that the *Parliament* adviſed him to break off the Treaties, and to recover the *Palatinate* by *War*, and the *Poſt* had his *Diſpatch* to that purpoſe; when the King repented him of what he had done, and (like the *Huſband* now jealous of his Wife) writes to *Secretary Conway* this Letter, to impede and delay the Buſineſs.

The King's Letter to Secretary *Conway*.

" I doubt not but you have heard what a ſtinging Petition a-
" gainſt the *Papiſts*, the Lower Houſe have ſent to the Higher
" Houſe this day, that they might joyntly preſent it to me; you
" know my firm Reſolution not to make this a War of Religi-
" on. And ſeeing I would be loth to be *Conny-catcht* by my
" People, I pray you ſtay the *Poſt* that is going into *Spain*,
" till I meet with my Son, who will be here to morrow
" morning. Do it upon pretext of ſome more *Letters* ye are
" to ſend by him, and if he ſhould be gone, haſten after him to
" ſtay him, upon ſome ſuch pretext, and let none living know of
" this as ye love me: and before two in the afternoon to morrow
" you ſhall without fail hear from me. Farewell. *Apr.* 3, 1624.

Conjectures on the King's Letter.

By this Letter it appears, that the King thought the *Petition* againſt *Recuſants* of ſuch high conſequence, that if he ſhould

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not give the Parliament a good anſwer, it might make a *Rupture* with them, and therefore he will ſee further in the *Nature* of this Petition, before he will break with the King of *Spain*; and know more of the Prince, his Son's mind, happily whether he would yet accept of his Old Miſtris, or expect a new one. Or whether the King feared that the Parliament would not make good their Promiſes, to ſtand with their lives and fortunes in the *Gap*, when this great Breach was made, and ſo couſen him, may be *Myſtical Conjectures* from *Myſtical Expreſſions*, grounded upon the Words of a *King*: Or whether any or all of theſe (like the *King*'s Heart inſcrutable) are meant in the Letter, is not here determined. But the *King* haſtens to the Houſe, and finding no ſuch terrible things in the Petition (the Lords being not ſo quick in the *Reſolution* of it, as the King was in the apprehenſion of it) he ſtirs not thoſe Waters, but ſounds the depth of the Parliaments Intentions, by propounding his Doubts, and requiring a ſolution to them, in order to a War, with prudence and caution.

The *King*'s 2. ſpeech to both *Houſes*.

'My Lords and Gentlemen all. I have cauſe firſt to thank God 'with my heart, and all the faculties of my mind, that my ſpeech 'which I delivered in Parliament hath taken ſo good effect 'among you, as that with an *Unanime conſent*, you have freely, 'and ſpeedily, given me your advice in this great *Buſineſs*, for 'which I alſo thank you all as heartily as I can. I alſo give my 'particular thanks to the Gentlemen of the *lower Houſe*, for that 'I hear, when ſome among them would have caſt jealouſies, and 'doubts, between me and my people, you preſently quelled thoſe '*Motions*, which might have hindred the happy agreement I 'hope to find in this Parliament. You give me your advice to 'break off both the Treaties as well concerning the Match, as the 'P*alatinate*. And now give me leave as an old King to propound 'my Doubts, and hereafter give me your anſwer.

'Firſt it is true that I who have been all the dayes of my 'life a peaceable King, and have had the Honour in my *Titles*, 'and impreſs to be ſtiled *Rex pacificus*, ſhould without neceſ-'ſity, imbroil my ſelf in a War. Which is ſo far from my '*Nature* and from the *Honour* I have had both at home and a-'broad, in endeavouring to avoid the effuſion of *Chriſtian* 'blood (of which too much hath been ſhed) and ſo much a-'gainſt my *Heart*, that unleſs it be upon ſuch a neceſſity, 'that I may call it (as ſome merrily ſay it of Women) *Malum* '*Neceſſarium*, I ſhall be loth to enter into it. And I muſt like-'wiſe acquaint you that I have had no ſmall hopes given me of '*Obtaining* better *Conditions*, for *Reſtitution* of the P*alatinate*, 'and that even ſince the ſetting down of this Parliament. But 'be not jealous, nor think me ſuch a *King*, that would under

'pre-

'pretext of asking your advice put a ſcorn upon you, by diſdain-
'ing or rejecting it. For you remember, that in my firſt *Speech*
'unto you, for proof of my *Love* to my *People*, I craved your ad-
'vice in this great and weighty affair. But in a matter of this
'*Weight*, I muſt conſider how this *Courſe* may agree with
'my *Conſcience* and *Honour*, and next, according to the
'*Parable* uttered by our *Saviour*, (after I was reſolved of the *Ne-*
'*ceſſity*, and juſtneſs of the *Cauſe*) to conſider how I ſhall be en-
'abled to raiſe *Forces* for this purpoſe.

'As concerning the *Caſe* of my *Children*. I am now old, and
'would be glad, as *Moſes* ſaw the Land of *Promiſe* from a high
'Mountain (though he had not leave to ſet his foot in it) ſo would
'it be a great *Comfort* to me, that God would ſo long prolong my
'daies, as, if I might not ſee the *Reſtitution*, yet at leaſt to be aſſu-
'red that it would be. That then I might with old *Simeon* ſay,
'*Nunc dimittis ſervum tuum Domine*! Otherwiſe it would be a
'great grief unto me, and I ſhould dy with a heavy, and diſcom-
'forted *Heart*. I have often ſaid, and particularly in the laſt
'Parliament, (and I ſhall be ever of the *Mind*) that as I am not
'ambitious of other *Mens* Goods or Lands, ſo I deſire not to en-
'joy a furrow of Land in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, without
'*Reſtitution* of the *Palatinate*; and in this *Mind* I will live and
'dy.

'But let me acquaint you a little with the difficulties of this
'*Caſe*; He is an unhappy man who ſhall adviſe a *King* to *War*,
'and it is an unchriſtian thing to ſeek that by blood, which may
'be had by *Peace*. Beſides, I think your Intentions are not to in-
'gage me in a War, but withal you will conſider how many
'things there are requiſite thereunto. I omit to ſpeak of my
'Own Neceſſities, they are too well known; Sure I am, I have
'had the leaſt help in *Parliament* of any King that reigned over
'you theſe many years; I have let you know that my diſabili-
'ties are increaſed, by the *Charge* of my Son's Journey into *Spain*
'(which I was at for his *Honour*, and the *Honour* of the *Nation*)
'by ſending *Ambaſſadours*, by Maintenance of my *Children*, and
'by aſſiſting of the *Palatinate*. I have incurred a great Debt to
'the *King* of *Denmark*, which I am not able to pay. The *Low-*
'*Countries* (who in regard of their nearneſs are fitteſt to help for
'the *Recovery* of the *Palatinate*) are at ſo low an ebb, that if I
'aſſiſt them not, they will be ſcarce able to ſubſiſt. The *Princes*
'of *Germany* that ſhould do me any good, are all *poor*, and *weak*,
'and *diſheartned*, and do expect aſſiſtance from hence. For *Ire-*
'*land*, I leave it to you, if that be not a back-door fit to be ſecu
'red. For the *Navy*, I thank God it is now in a better *Caſe* than
'ever it was, yet more muſt be done, and before it can be pre-
'pared as it ought to be, it will require a new *Charge*, as well for
'the own *Strength*, as for ſecuring of the *Coaſts*. My *Children*

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'(I vow to *God*) eat no bread but by my means, I must maintain them, and not see them want. My *Customs* are the best part of my *Revenues*, and in effect the *Substance* of all I have to live on; All which are Farmed out upon *Condition*, That if there be *War*, those *Bargains* are to be anulled. *Subsidies* ask a great time to bring in; and if you assist me that *Way*, I must take them up before-hand upon *Credit*, which will eat up a great part of them.

'This being my *Case*, to enter into a *War* without sufficient means to support it, were to shew my *Teeth* and do no more. In the mean time, *I heartily thank you for your Advice, and will seriously think upon it*; As I pray you to consider of these other Points. My *Treasurer*, to whose *Office* it appertains, shall more at large inform you of those things that concern my *Estate*.

'Thus freely do I open my *Heart* to you, and having your *Hearts*, I cannot want your *Helps*; for it is the *Heart* that opens the *Purse*, not the *Purse* the *Heart*. I will deal frankly with you, shew me the means how I may do what you would have me; and if I take a *Resolution* upon your *Advice* to enter into a *War*, then your own *Deputies* shall have the disposing of the Money, I will not meddle with it, but you shall appoint your own *Treasurers*.

'I say not this with purpose to invite you to open your *Purses*, and then to slight you so much as not to follow your *Counsel*, nor ingage you before I be ingaged my self. Give me what you will for my own means, for I protest none of the *Money* which you shall give for these *Uses*, shall be issued but for those ends. If upon your *Offer* I shall find the means to make a *War* honourable, and safe, (and that I resolve to imbrace your Advice) then I promise you on the *Word* of a *King*, That although *War* and *Peace* be the peculiar Prerogative of *Kings*, yet as I have advised with you in the *Treaties*, on which *War* may ensue, so I will not Treat nor accept of *Peace*, without first acquainting you with it, and hearing your Advice, and therein go the proper way of Parliament, in conferring and consulting with you: And happily, *Conditions* of *Peace* will be the better, when we are prepared for *War*, according to the Proverb, *That Weapons breed Peace*.

'Your kind Carriage gives me much *Contentment*, and that comforts me which my Lord of *Canterbury* said, That there was not a contrary *Voice* among you all, like the *Seventy Interpreters*, who were led by the breath of *God*.

'I am so desirous to forget all rents in former *Parliaments*, that it shall not be my default, if I be not in love with *Parliaments*, and call them often, and desire to end my life in that intercourse between Me and my People, for making of good *Laws*,

'*Laws*, reforming abuſes, and maintaining the good Govern-
'ment of the *Common-Wealth*. Therefore go on cheerfully,
'and adviſe of theſe *points*, and my *Reſolution* ſhall be then, de-
clared.

The Parliament cloſe with the King.

None can blame the *King* for being too cautelous, or wary in ſuch an *Eruption* as this, ſo contrary to his *Nature* (as he ſaith himſelf) a *War* was a new *World* to him, fearing to lay out by it more than he ſhould receive. And in this, he was like the *Man*, that when his *Maſter* gave great *Charge* to go and gather up his *Rents* in the *Country*, and to take a pair of *Piſtols* with him, to bring home his Money with the more ſecurity: After the *Maſter* had appointed him to pay ſo much in one place, and ſo much in another, that the *Man* ſaw he ſhould not receive ſo much as he ſhould diſburſe, *Bid his Maſter take his* Piſtols *again, he ſhould not uſe them.* So the *King* fearing that when the *War* was begun, there would not be wherewithal to maintain it, *Thanked the* Parliament *for their Advice, and he would conſider better of it.* And they feeling the *King*'s Pulſe by his expreſſions, reſolved now not to let him flag, but to keep up the temper of his *Spirit*, that a little thing would make decline again. And therefore they ſeriouſly ſettled to their *Buſineſs*, and anſwered his *Expectation* fully, which they preſented unto him ſhortly after, in theſe words, to his great *Satisfaction.*

Their Declaration.

Moſt Gracious Soveraign,

WE *your* Majeſties *moſt Humble and* Loyal Subjects, *the* Lords *and* Commons *in this preſent* Parliament *aſſembled, do firſt render to your* Sacred Majeſty, Our *moſt Dutiful Thanks, for that to* Our *unſpeakable* Comfort, *you have vouchſafed to expreſs your Self ſo well ſatisfied with* Our *late* Declaration *made unto your* Majeſty, *of* Our general Reſolution *in purſuit of* Our *Humble Advice to aſſiſt your* Majeſty *in a* Parliamentary way, *with* Our Perſons *and* Abilities. *And whereas your* Majeſty *in your* Great Wiſdom *and Judgment, foreſeeing that it will make a deeper impreſſion, both in the* Enemies *of that* Cauſe, *and in your* Friends *and* Allies, *if they ſhall not onely hear of the* Cheerful Offers, *but alſo ſee the* Real *performance of your* Subjects *towards ſo great a* Work. *Your* Majeſty *was pleaſed to deſcend to a particular* Propoſition *for the advancing of this great* Buſineſs. We *therefore in all humbleneſs moſt ready and willing to give your* Majeſty *and the* whole World *an ample Teſtimony of* Our *Sincere and Dutiful Intentions herein, upon Mature Advice and Deliberation, as well of the Weight and Importance, of this great Affair, as of the preſent Eſtate of this your* Kingdom, *(the Weal and Safety whereof, is in Our Judgments apparently threatned, if your* Majeſties Reſolution *for the* Diſſolving *of the* Treaties, *now in queſtion, be longer deferred, and that* Proviſion

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viſion *for defence of your* Realm, *and aid of your* Friends, *and* Allies, *be not ſeaſonably made) have with a* Cheerful Conſent *of all the* Commons *(no one diſſenting) and with a* Full, *and* Cheerful Conſent *of the* Lords, *Reſolved, That upon your* Majeſties *publique* Declaration, *for the* Diſſolution, *and utter* Diſcharge *of both the ſaid* Treaties *of the* Marriage, *and the* Palatinate, *in purſuit of* Our *Advice therein, and towards the* Support *of that* War, *which is likely to enſue; And more particularly for thoſe four Points propoſed by your* Majeſty. Namely, *for the* Defence *of this your* Realm; *the Securing of* Ireland; *the aſſiſtance of your* Neighbours, *the* States *of the* United Provinces; *and other your* Majeſties Friends, *and* Allies; *and for the ſetting forth of your* Royal Navy; *We will grant for the preſent, the greateſt* Aid *which ever was given in* Parliament. *That is to ſay, Three intire* Subſidies, *and three* Fifteens, *to be all paid within the* compaſs *of one whole Year, after your* Majeſtie *ſhall be pleaſed to make the ſaid* Declaration; *The Money to be paid into the* Hands, *and expended by the* Direction *of ſuch* Committees, *or* Commiſſioners, *as hereafter ſhall be agreed upon at this preſent* Seſſion *of* Parliament. *And* We *moſt humbly beſeech your* Majeſty, *to accept of theſe* Firſt Fruits *of* Our Hearty Oblation, *dedicated to that* Work, *which* We *infinitely deſire may proſper, and be advanced. And for the* Future *to reſt confidently aſſured, That* We *your* Loyal *and* Loving Subjects, *will never fail in a* Parliamentary *way, to aſſiſt your* Majeſtie *in ſo* Royal *a* Deſign; *wherein your Own* Honour, *and the* Honour *of your moſt* Noble Son *the* Prince, *the* Antient Renown *of this* Nation, *the* Welfare *and very* Subſiſtence *of your* Noble, *and* Onely Daughter, *and her* Conſort, *and their* Poſterity, *the Safety of your Own* Kingdom, *and* People, *and the* Proſperity *of your* Neighbours, *and* Allies, *are ſo deeply ingaged.*

The Treaties with *Spain* diſſolved.

The *Parliament* by this *Declaration* came up ſo cloſe to the *King*, that he could make no evaſion, but reſted contented now in his Latter time (when the *Almonds* (as it were) begun to *Bloſſom* upon his head) to plunge himſelf into a *War*: which brought him again to the *Parliament*, to thank them for their *Readineſs* to aſſiſt him; telling them, That he is willing to follow their advice in the *Anulling* and Breach of theſe two *Treaties*. They having given enough to begin a *War*, but when the end will be (he ſaid) *God knows*. Yet he will ingage for himſelf and his Son, his *Succeſſour*, That no means ſhall be left unuſed for recovery of the *Palatinate*. And for all his *Old Age* (if it might do any good) he would go in perſon to further the *Buſineſs*. But as he is contented to have the *Parliament Committees* to diſpoſe of the Moneys by their *Directions*, ſo the *Deſign* muſt not be acted by publique *Councels*; For whether he ſhall ſend *Two thouſand*, or *Ten thouſand*; whether by *Sea* or *Land*, *Eaſt*,

Eaſt, or *Weſt*, by *Diverſion* or *Invaſion*, upon the *Bavarian*, or the *Emperor*, that muſt be left to the *King*. And this he did, that there might be no jealouſies, but to ſmooth every *Rub* betwixt them.

And to put it in execution, a *Council* of *War* is choſen out of the old, and long diſcontinued *Militia* of *Ireland*, and ſome others of the *Nobility*; and upon reſult of their Counſels (after ſome debate) it was concluded, to ſend ſix thouſand men for the preſent into the *Low Countreys*, to joyn with the *States Forces*, againſt the *King* of *Spain*'s mighty *Armies*, under the command of *Marqueſs Spinola*, that threatned the next *Summer* to overrun the *Netherlands*, that weakning the *Spaniard* in *Flanders*, they might have the more free acceſs into *Germany*.

The *Diſſolution* of the *Treaties* with *Spain*, and the preparation for *War* reſounding in every *Ear*, gave ſuch an *Allarm* to the *Spaniſh Ambaſſadour*, the *Marqueſs* of *Inoioſa*, that whether out of *Truth*, and *Knowledge* (as he pretended) or *Malice* only, cannot be determined: But he ſent to the *King*, to let him know, that the *Duke* of *Buckingham* had ſome dangerous *Machination* a foot, that tended to his *Deſtruction*, and the beſt he could expect, would be a confinement to a *Countrey-houſe*, in ſome *Park* during his life; the *Prince* being now in full *abilities* and ripe in *Government*. This Concuſſion was ſtrong enough to ſhake an old Building, that was of a fearful, and tottering *Temper* (eſpecially if he conſidered how his Mother was put by her *Government*, to ſay nothing of *Prince Henry*) but the *violence* of it did not work, becauſe the *Operation* was ſomewhat mitigated by the *Duke*'s *Proteſtation* of his *Innocency*. For the *King* at the next Interview ſaying to him, *Ah Stenny, Stenny*, (which was the *Familiar* name he alwayes uſed to him) *Wilt thou kill me?* The *Duke* ſtruck into an *Aſtoniſhment* with the *Expreſſion*, after ſome little *Pauſe*, collected himſelf, and with many aſſeverations ſtrove to juſtify his Integrity; which the good King was willing enough to believe, and *Buckingham* finding by ſome diſcourſe, that *Padre Maceſtria* the *Spaniſh Jeſuit*, had been with the *King*, he had then a large *Theme* for his *Vindication*, turning all upon the *Spaniſh Jeſuitical Malice*, which proceeded from the ruins of their ruined *Hopes*. And the King knowing *Inoioſa* and all that *Party*, very bitter againſt *Buckingham*, and though he did not directly accuſe the *Prince* to be in the *Conſpiracy*, with *Buckingham*, yet he reflected upon him; for ſuch an attempt could never have been effected without his *Privity*, therefore out of the *Bowels* of good *Nature* he did unbelieve it; and after Examinations of ſome *Perſons* the *Duke*'s Intimates, and their conſtant denyal upon oath (which they had no good *Cauſe* to confeſs) the *King* was

The *Spaniſh Ambaſſadour* accuſes *Buckingham* of Treaſon.

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was content (being loth to think such an *Enterprize* could be fostred so neer his own *Bosom*) to have the *Brat* strangled in the *Womb*. And he presently sent into *Spain* to desire *Justice* of that *King*, against the *Ambassadours* false *Accusation*, which he said wounded his *Son's Honour* through *Buckingham's* side, which Sir *Walter Aston* represented to the King of *Spain* (for *Bristol* was coming over to justifie his *Actions* to the *Parliament*.) But the *Duke* of *Buckinghams* reputation there procured no other *Satisfaction*, than some little check of *formality*; for when *Inojosa* was recalled home, he was not lessen'd in esteem. Thus was this Information waved, though there might be some cause to *suspect*, that the great intimacy, and *Dearness*, betwixt the *Prince* and *Duke* (like the conjunction of two dreadful *planets*) could not but portend the production of some very dangerous effect to the old *King*.

Bristol sent to the Tower.

But the *Duke's Reputation*, though it failed in *Spain*, held firm footing in *England*; for *Bristol* no sooner appeared, but he is clapt up in the *Tower*. Their jugling practices (whereof they were Both guilty enough) must not yet come to light, to disturb the *Proceedings* in *Parliament*. *Bristol* had too much of the *King's Commission* for what he did (though he might overshoot himself in what he said) which was not now to be discovered. Yet the *Rigor* of that imprisonment would have sounded too loud, if he had not had a suddain *Release*, who finding the *Duke* high mounted yet in power, and himself in no *Degree* to grapple with him, was content with *Submission* to gain his *liberty*, and retire himself to a Country *privacy*.

The *Lords* being now at leisure began to consider of that *stinging petition* (as the *King* called it) against Papists, how necessary it was to joyn with the *Commons*, to *supplicate* the *King* to take down the pride of their high-flying *Hopes*, that had been long upon the *Wing*, watching for their prey, and now they are made to stoop without it. And after some Conferences betwixt both *Houses* about it, the Petition was reduced to these two Propositions, and *presented* to the *King* as two Petitions.

The *Parliaments Petition* against *Recusants*.

We *your* Majestie's *most humble and loyal* Subjects *the* Lords *and* Commons *assembled in* Parliament, *do in all humbleness offer unto your* Sacred Majesty *these two* Petitions *following*.

1. *That for the more safety of your* Realms, *and better keeping your* Subjects *in* Obedience, *and other important* Reasons of State, *your* Majesty *would be pleased* (*by some such* course *as you shall think fit*) *to give present* Order, *that all the* Laws *be put in due execution, which have been made, and do stand in force against* Jesuits, Seminary Priests, *and others, having taken Orders by authority derived from the* See *of* Rome, *and generally against all* Popish Recusants. *And as for disarming, that it may be according*

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cording to the Laws, *and according to former* Acts, *and* Directions *of* State, *in that* Case. *And yet that it may appear to all the* World, *the* Favour *and* Clemency *your* Majesty *useth towards all your* Subjects *of what Condition soever; And to the intent the* Jesuits, *and* Priests, *now in the* Realm, *may not pretend to be surprized, that a speedy and certain day may be prefixed, by your* Majesties Proclamation, *before which day they shall depart out of this* Kingdom, *and all other your* Highness Dominions; *and neither they nor any other to return or come hither again, upon peril of the severest* Penalties *of the* Laws *now in force against them. And that all your* Majesties Subjects *may thereby also be admonished, not to receive, entertain, or conceal, any of them, upon the* Penalties, *and Forfeitures, which by the* Laws *may be imposed on them.*

2. *Seeing* We *are thus happily delivered from that danger which those* Treaties *now dissolved, and that use which your ill-affected* Subjects *made thereof, would certainly have drawn upon us, and yet cannot but foresee, and fear lest the like may hereafter happen, which would inevitably bring much peril upon your* Majesties Kingdoms, We *are most humble Suters unto your* Gracious Majesty, *to secure the* Hearts *of your good* Subjects, *by the ingagement of your* Royal *Word unto them, that upon no occasion of Marriage or* Treaty, *(or other request in that behalf, from any forein* Prince *or* State *whatsoever) you will take away or slacken the* Execution *of your* Laws *against* Jesuits, Priests, *and* Popish Recusants.

To which Our humble Petitions (*proceeding from Our most* Loyal *and* Dutiful *affections towards your* Majesty, *Our Care of Our* Countries *good, and our own confident persuasion, that these will much advance the Glory of* Almighty God, *the everlasting* Honour *of your* Majesty, *the Safety of your* Kingdoms, *and the incouragement of all your good* Subjects) We *do most humbly beseech your Majesty to vouchsafe a gracious Answer.*

The King prepared for it.

The *King* was prepared for the *Petition*, having given his own *Resolution* the *Check* at present; that whatsoever he might do hereafter, yet now he would comply; and therefore he sends for both *Houses* to *Whitehall*, to sweeten them with a gentle answer to this *Petition*, that might take off those *four* aspersions that this miscarriage in *Government* might happily cast upon him. And we will not say but his intentions might rove towards the *End*, though he gave too much *liberty* (through a *Natural* easiness in himself) to those that *He* trusted with *Management* of the great affairs, by evil means to pervert that *end*, which made him guilty of their *Actions*: For where true *Piety* is not the *Director*, *Carelessness* as often as *Wilfulness* carries men out of the way. But he had this *Principle*, and made often use of it, (like ill Tenants when they let things run to ruin) to daub all up again, when forced to it, and find no other *Remedy*. This was the effect of what he said in his own excuse.

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The Kings answers to the Parliaments Petitions, 23. Apr.

My Lords *and* Gentlemen *of both* Houſes, *I cannot but commend your* Zeal, *in offering this* Petition *to me; yet on the other ſide, I cannot but hold my Self unfortunate, that I ſhould be thought to need a* Spur *to do that which my* Conſcience, *and* Duty, *binds me unto. What* Religion *I am of, my* Books *do declare, my* Profeſſion, *and* Behaviour *doth ſhew, and I hope in God I ſhall never live to be thought otherwiſe; ſurely I ſhall never deſerve it: And for my part I wiſh it may be written in* Marble, *and remain to* Poſterity *as a mark upon me, when I ſhall ſwerve from my* Religion: *For he that doth diſſemble with God, is not to be truſted with Men.*

My Lords, *for my part, I proteſt before* God, That my Heart hath bled *when I have heard of the increaſe of* Popery. God *is my judge, it hath been ſuch a great grief to me, that it hath been as* Thorns *in my* Eyes, *and* Pricks *in my* Sides, *and ſo for ever I have been and ſhall be from turning another way. And my* Lords *and* Gentlemen, *you ſhall be my* Confeſſors, *that one way or other it hath been my* Deſire *to hinder the growth of* Popery, *and I could not be an honeſt* Man, *if I ſhould have done otherwiſe; And this I may ſay further, That if I be not a* Martyr, *I am ſure I am a* Confeſſor, *and in ſome ſenſe I may be called a* Martyr, *as in the* Scripture, Iſaac *was* Perſecuted *by* Iſmael, *by mocking* Words. *for never* King *ſuffered more ill Tongues than I have done, and I am ſure for no cauſe; yet I have been far from* Perſecution, *for I have ever thought, that no way increaſed any* Religion *more than* Perſecution, *according to that Saying,* Sanguis Martyrum eſt Semen Eccleſiæ.

Now my Lords *and* Gentlemen, *for your* Petition; *I will not onely grant the* Subſtance *of what you craved, but add ſomewhat more of my own. For the Two* Treaties *being already anulled (as I have declared them to be) it neceſſarily follows of it ſelf, that which you deſire, and therefore it needs no more, but that I do declare by* Proclamation, *(which I am ready to do) That all* Jeſuits, *and* Prieſts, *do depart by a* Day; *but it cannot be as you deſire, by Our* Proclamation *to be out of all my* Dominions; *for a* Proclamation *here, extends but to this* Kingdom.

This I will do, and more, I will Command all my Judges, *when they go their* Circuits, *to keep the ſame* Courſes, *for putting all the* Laws *in Execution againſt* Recuſants, *as they were wont to do, before theſe* Treaties: *for the* Laws *are ſtill in* force, *and were never diſpenſed with by me.* God is my judge, they were never ſo intended by me. *But as I told you in the beginning of the* Parliament, *you muſt give me leave as a good* Horſe-man *ſometimes to uſe the* Reins, *and not always to uſe the* Spurs. *So now there needs nothing but my* Declaration *for the diſarming of them, that is already done by the* Laws, *and ſhall be done as you deſired. And more,*

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I will take order for the ſhameful *diſorder of the* Reſorting *of my* Subjects *to all forein* Ambaſſadours; *of this I will adviſe with my* Council *how it may be beſt reformed. It is true, that the* Houſes *of* Ambaſſadors *are privileged places, and though they cannot take them out of their* Houſes, *yet the Lord* Mayor, *and Mr.* Recorder *of* London, *may take ſome of them as they come from thence, and make them Examples. Another* Point *I will add, concerning the* Education *of their* Children, *of which I have had a principal care, as the* Lord *of* Canterbury, *and the* Biſhop *of* Wincheſter, *and other* Lords *of my* Council *can bear me witneſs, with whom I have adviſed about this* Buſineſs: *For in* good faith *it is a ſhame their* Children *ſhould be bred here, as if they were at* Rome. *So I do grant not onely your* Deſire, *but more: I am ſorry I was not the firſt mover of it to you; But had you not done it,* I ſhould have done it my ſelf.

Now for the ſecond part of your Petition; *You have there given me the beſt advice in the World; For it is againſt the* Rule *of* Wiſdom, *that a King ſhould ſuffer any of his* Subjects *to tranſgreſs the* Laws, *by the interceſſion of other* Princes; *and therefore aſſure your ſelves, that (by the* Grace *of* God) *I will be careful that no ſuch* Conditions *be foiſted in upon any other* Treaty *whatſoever: For it is fit my* Subjects *ſhould ſtand or fall to their own* Laws.

If the *King* had ſeriouſly and really conſidered the *Minute* of this *Petition*, the very laſt Claule, wherein the *Glory* of *God*, and the *Safety* of his *Kingdoms*, ſo much conſiſted, as the *Parliament* wiſely expreſs, and foreſee, and which the *King* ſaith is the beſt Advice in the *World*, and which he promiſed ſo faithfully to obſerve in the next *Treaty* of *Marriage* for his *Son*, it might perhaps have kept the *Crown* upon the *Head* of his *Poſterity*. But when *Princes* break with the *People*, in thoſe *Promiſes* that concern the *Honour* of *God*, *God* will let their *people* break with them to their *Ruin* and *Diſhonour*. And this *Maxim* holds in all *Powers*, whether *Kingdoms* or *Common Wealths*; As they are eſtabliſhed by *Juſtice*, ſo the *Juſtice* of *Religion* which tends moſt to the *Glory of God*, is principally to be obſerved.

The King promiſes much, performs little.

The *King* grants them more than they deſire, but not ſo much as they hope for: they have many good words thick ſown, but they produce little good *fruit*. Yet the *Parliament* followed the *Chace* cloſe, and bolted out divers of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of *Eminency*, *Popiſhly* affected, that had *Earth'd* themſelves in Places of high Truſt and Power in the *Kingdom*, as if they meant to under-mine the *Nation*. *Viz.*

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A ſwarm of *Popery.*

Francis Earl of *Rutland*, the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Wives Father. Sir *Thomas Compton*, that was married to the Duke's Mother; And the Counteſs her ſelf, who was the *Cynoſure* they all ſteered by. The Earl of *Caſtle-Haven*. The Lord *Herbert*, after Earl of *Worceſter*. The Lord Viſcount *Colcheſter*, after Earl of *Rivers*. The Lord *Peter*. The Lord *Morley*. The Lord *Windſor*. The Lord *Eure*. The Lord *Wotton*. The Lord *Teinham*, The Lord *Scroop*, who was Lord *Preſident* of the *North* (and which they omitted, the Earl of *Northampton*, Lord *Preſident* of *Wales*, who married his Children to *Papiſts*, and permitted them to be bred up in *Popery*.) Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Thomas Brudnell*, Sir *Thomas Somerſet*, Sir *Gilbert Ireland*, Sir *Francis Stonners*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Francis Howard*, Sir *William Powell*, Sir *Francis Lacon*, Sir *Lewis Lewkner*, Sir *William Awberie*, Sir *John Gage*, Sir *John Shelly*, Sir *Henry Carvel*, Sir *Thomas Wiſeman*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, Sir *John Filpot*, Sir *Thomas Ruſſell*, Sir *Henry Bedingfield*, Sir *William Wrey*, Sir *John Conwey*, Sir *Charles Jones*, Sir *Ralph Connyers*, Sir *Thomas Lamplough*, Sir *Thomas Savage*, Sir *William Moſeley*, Sir *Hugh Beſton*, Sir *Thomas Riddall*, Sir *Marmaduke Wivel*, Sir *John Towneſend*, Sir *William Norris*, Sir *Philip Knevit*, Sir *John Tasborough*, Sir *William Selbie*, Sir *Richard Titchborn*, Sir *John Hall*, Sir *George Perkins*, Sir *Thomas Penroduck*, Sir *Nicholas Sanders*, Knights; Beſides divers *Eſquires Popiſhly* addicted, either in their own Perſons, or by means of their Wives, too tedious to be expreſſed here. And theſe were diſperſed and ſeated in every County, who were not only in *Office* and *Commiſſion*, but had *Countenance* from *Court*, by which they grew up and flouriſhed, ſo that their exuberancie hindered the growth of any *Goodneſs*, or *Piety*, their *Malice* pleaſed to drop upon.

Herba mimoſa.

Theſe men being now touched, began to ſhrink in their *Branches*, like the new-found *Indian Plants*, but they quickly put out again: for though this *Diſturbance*, or *Movement*, came upon them, by the *Diſſolution* of one *Treaty*, yet they preſently got heart, and ſpread again, by the other which was in *Agitation*.

A Treatie of Marriage with *Franct.*

For our *King* after the *Breach* with *Spain*, loth to be refuſed in *France*, (where the Younger Daughter to *Henry* the *Great*, was reſerved to be the *Fatal Mother* of a *Diſherited Royal Iſſue*) durſt not venture upon an *Overt Treaty*, but ſends over the Lord *Kenſington*, newly made Earl of *Holland*, who was to ſound the *King*, and *Grandees* of *France*, whether the *Match* were feaſible, before he would begin to Treat *publiquely*. He remained a Month in *France*, and moved not a word, though they apprehended his addreſs was to that end. While the *Prince* was in *Spain*, they looked



Carolus D. G. Rex Ang:
Sco: Fran: et Hib:

G. G.



Henreta Maria D. G. Reg:
Ang: Sco: Fran: et Hib:

by Tho: Bancks. on ye top of Bridwell Stairs.

looked upon the *Count Soiſon*, as a fit Match for the *Princeſs Henrietta Maria*, but our *Prince's Gallantry* (as they eſteemed it there) and his *Spritely* carriage in ſo dangerous, and hazardous a Journey, both by *Sea*, and *Land*, took ſuch impreſſions in the *friſk* of the *French Humour*, and raiſed him to ſuch a height of *Bravery* among them, that they were impetuouſly Violent in deſiring the *Match*; Inſomuch as upon the very firſt *Overture*, the *King* of *France* told the Earl of *Holland*, That he had rather have the *Prince* of *England* to his *Brother*, than any man in the World. And when the Treaty was begun, the *Spaniſh Factors* began to play their parts with the *Pope*, ſo that he ſent to the King of *France* to get ſome Immunities in the *Articles* now in *Treaty*, for the *Catholiques* in *England*, and that there might be publique exerciſe of the *Popiſh Religion* for the *Princeſs*. This the *Earl* of *Holland* oppoſing, the King of *France* told him, That if he would go on with the *Treaty*, he would be tyed no further to the *Pope's Rules* than did conſiſt with *Reaſon*; For he did acknowledg the next *Dioceſan Biſhop* to him, in his *Dominions*, to have as much power as he. So that the *Treaty* went on with a petty admittance of the *Catholique Religion*, and *Romiſh Miniſters* about the *Princeſs*, to a private, and almoſt obſcure *Condition*; ſo eager was the *King* of *France* for the *Match*.

But the *Jeſuitical Party*, both here, and there, were inceſſantly laborious for a greater *Liberty*, and the *King*'s chief *Agent* in the *Treaty*, *Monſieur de Vieuxvill*, having pulled on him the *Odium* of the people (through ſome miſcarriages) being committed *Priſoner* by the *King*, to protect him from their *Rage*, the *Cardinal Richelieu* entring then into his Infancy of *Favour*, being preferred by the *Queen-Mother* to be a manager of the *Treaty*, whoſe Intimate he was, and more Stubborn for promoting the *Catholique Cauſe*, yet all this could give no ſtop to the *Career*, but that the *Match* would be made up upon very eaſie Terms.

But when the *King* of *France* underſtood by his *Miniſters*, and *Agents* in *England*, how eager our King was for the *Match*, (for he deſired it above all *Earthly Bleſſings*, as one near him ſaid of him) for beſides the *Reproach* he thought would fall upon him by another *Breach*, he ſhould loſe the *Glory* of a *Conjunction* with *Kings* (which he highly wound up his *Opinion* to) to *Sublime*, and, as it were, *Deifie* his *Poſterity* in the eſteem of the *people*, ſo that he would almoſt ſubmit to any thing, rather than the *Match* ſhould not go forward, which the King of *France* finding, he bated his *Humour* of earneſtneſs for it, and deſcended by the ſame *Steps* and *Degrees* that he found his *Brother King* advanced to it; and got ſeveral great Immunities for the *Papiſts* by it; notwithſtanding all *Our King's* fair *Promiſes* to the *Parliament*, as may

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may be seen by those *Articles*, seal'd, and sworn to by *Our King*, some few Months before his *Death*.

But a little before this, (when the *Hopes* of the *Match* with *France* began to bud) the *Earl* of *Carlile* was sent over to mature, and *Ripen* the proceedings with the *Earl* of *Holland*, to bring the *Treaty* to some perfection, yet with private instructions, That if they could find by their *Spanish Correspondencies* (as the *Earl* of *Carlile* was a little *Hispanioliz'd*) that the *Match* there had any *Probability* of taking effect with the new *Propositions*; that then they should proceed no further in the *French Treaty*: so earnest was the *King* for the one, so *Violent* for the other; The *Sophisticate Drugs* of the *Spanish Restitution* of the *Palatinate*, having not yet lost their *Operation*. Thus the *Ambition* of *Princes* (that devolve all their *Happiness* upon glorious *Extractions*) doth choak and smother those *Considerations*, that *Religion* (like a clear *light*) discovers to be but gross, and cloudy *Policy*, which vanishes often, and comes to nothing.

The Lord Treasurer questioned in Parliament.

The *Duke* of *Buckingham* swoln with Grandure (having two great *Props* to support him) doubted not to *Crush* any thing that stood in his way, so that he fell very heavily upon his *Cousen* the *Earl* of *Middlesex*, *Lord Treasurer*; for he remembred how he repined at the *Moneys* that were spent in *Spain*, and his *Comportment* to him since his coming over (*Middlesex* being naturally of a *Sullen* and proud *Humor*) was not such as (he thought) did become his *Creature*: Therefore he *Resolved* to bring him down from that *Height* he had placed him in, and quickly found the means to do it. For great *Officers* that dig deep in *Worldly Treasures*, have many *Underminers* under them; and those that are not just to themselves or others, must make use of such as will not be so *just* to them, so that a flaw may easily be found, whereby a great *Breach* may be made. And as *Middlesex* had not *Innocency* to *Justifie* himself, so he wanted *Humility* whereby others might *Justifie* him, which made him fall unpitied. The *Prince* (that was *Buckingham*'s right hand) took part against him in the *House* of *Lords*, where he was *Questioned*; which the *King* hearing of, writes to the *Prince* from *New-Market*, (whither he often retired to be free, and at ease from comber, and noise of *Business*) *That he should not take part with any* Faction *in* Parliament *against the Earl of* Middlesex, *but to reserve himself, so that both sides might seek him; for if he bandied to take away his Servants, the time would come that others would do as much for him.* This wise Advice speaks *Buckingham* a little declining from the *Meridian* of the *King*'s Favour, or the *King* from his; For if the *King* did know that *Buckingham* was his chief *Persecutor*, it could not but relish ill with the *Duke* to have the *King* plead for him; if the *King* did not [illegible] know, there was not then

then that intimacy betwixt them that uſed to be. But the *Treaſurer's Actions* being throughly canvaſed (though he had not had ſuch great *Enemies*) he was found guilty of ſuch miſdemeanors, as were not fit for a *Man* of *Honour* to commit, ſo that the *Parliament* thought to *Degrade* him; but that they looked on as an ill *Precedent*. But though they took not away his *Titles* of *Honour* in *Relation* to his *Poſterity* (who had not offended) yet they made him utterly uncapable of *ſitting* in the *Houſe* of *Lords* as a *Peer*. And for his fine, it was ſo great, that the *Duke* (by *Report*) got *Chelſie Houſe* out of him for his part of it.

Harman's ſtory

There was an odd accident hapned in *Northampton-ſhire* while this *Treaſurer* was in his *Greatneſs*. One *Harman* a rich man (that knew not well how to make uſe of his *Riches*) having ſome bad *Tenants*, and being informed that one of them which *Owed* him money, had furniſhed himſelf to go to a Fair, to buy ſome Proviſions for his accommodation: *Harman* walks (as by accident) to meet him in the way to the *Market*; when he ſaw his *Tenant*, he askt him for his Rent; the man (that was willing otherwiſe to diſpoſe of his *money*) denied he had any; Yes I know thou haſt money, ſaid *Harman*, (calling him by his *Name*) I prithee let me have my Rent; and with much importunity the man pulled out his money, and gave all, or the moſt part of it to his *Landlord*. This coming to ſome *Pragmatical* knowledg, the poor *Man* was adviſed to indict his *Landlord* for *Robbing* him, and taking his *Money* from him, in the High-way; which he did, and *Harman* for his *Sordid* and baſe carriage, being ill beloved in the Countrey, was found guilty, but reprieved by the *Judges*; And *Harman* hearing the *Lord Treaſurer* had a *Secretary* of his *Name*, he applied himſelf to him, promiſing to give him all his *Eſtate* (having no *Children*) if his *Lord* would bring him out of the *Danger* he was in; which the *Lord Treaſurer* by his power with the *King* did effect, and *Harman* his *Man* within a ſhort time after (by the other's death) injoyed an ample eſtate.

The Lady *Finch* Viſcounteſs of *Maidſtone*.

The King being a good *Maſter*, did by his *Bounty* much indear his *Servants* unto him, and ſeldom denied any man a *Reaſonable Sute*; This *Treaſurer* by his *Greatneſs* alſo procured the *King*, by *Patent* (after the example of the *Counteſs* of *Buckingham*) to create *Elizabeth*, the *Widow* of Sir *Moyle Fynch* of *Kent*, *Viſcounteſs* of *Maidſtone*, *A Lady* of a great *Fortune*, and having a Mind ſuitable to it, ſhe laid the *Foundation* of a Noble *Family*, intailing not onely this *Title*, but in the next *King's* Reign, the *Earldom* of *Winchelſey*, upon her now flouriſhing *Poſterity*. But it is thought this *Treaſurer* got well by laying the ground-work to this great *Structure*; For *Copt-Hall* (a *Noble Seat* in *Eſſex*) came to his hand from

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from this Lady at a small value; which is the principal House he left to his *Family*.

Four Regiments sent into *Holland*.

This Spring gave Birth to Four brave Regiments of Foot, (a new apparition in the *English Horizon*) Fifteen hundred in a Regiment, which were raised, and transported into *Holland*, under Four gallant *Colonels*; The *Earl* of *Oxford*, the *Earl* of *Southampton*, the *Earl* of *Essex*, and the Lord *Willoughby*, since *Earl* of *Lindsey*. These four Regiments being well armed and exercised in *Holland*, were ready to march into the Field with *Maurice Prince* of *Orange*, *General* of the *States Army*; who having an opposite, the *Marquess Spinola*, as subtile, and more daring than himself, they both lay at the *Catch*, and their wariness prevented many a Mischief. *Maurice* finding *Spinola* with the *Spanish Army* hankering about *Breda*, either thinking himself not ready enough to incounter him, or not strong enough to *Grapple* with him, permitted him to work himself within two strong lines of *Circumvallation*, fortified with several *Forts*, and *Redoubts*, notwithstanding that *Breda* was his *Darling Town*, and the Honor of his *Excellency*; And while *Spinola* was thus working, he diverted his *Army* into *Cleveland*, to take in *Cleve Castle*, a poor, and inconsiderable *Place*, which was surrendred to him as soon as he presented his *Cannon* before it; and when he had done that, and *Spinola* had finished his Works, he brought his *Army* to a little *Village* called *Mede*, which was close by *Spinola*'s *Quarters*, and there intrenched himself by his side; But the Enemy attended their Work, and would not busie themselves to look after him, being strongly fortified, and the way open for their *Convoyes* to bring *Provisions* out of *Flanders*, which went alwaies very strong; and *Prince Maurice* would not go so far out of his way from his *Victual-Ships* to interrupt them, lest he should want *Provisions* for his own *Army*. But his great Design of lodging so near the Enemy was to amuse them, that they should bend their Eyes and Thoughts upon him there, and neglect that the more which he aimed at; For he had the *Surprising* of the strong *Castle* at *Antwerp* in his *Fancy*, which (he was informed) at that time had but small Force in it; and he was so assured to prevail, that he would have none but the *Dutch* to have the *Honour* of it. But they attempted the *Business* so blunderingly, that they were discovered, and lost their labour. And so with some few little *Bickerings* of small *Parties* of *Horse*, betwixt the two intrenched *Armies*, the whole *Summer* was shuffled away; And Winter approaching, the *Prince* seeing little good to be done there, drew his *Army* to *Rosendale*, and *Sprang*, Villages adjacent, where they attended *Opportunities* of doing the *Enemy* mischief. But the *Glory* of *Prince Maurice* began to decay, the loss of this Town (which he

Spinola besieges *Breda*.



MAURITS,
Prins van Oranje,
Stadhouder van Gelderland, Holland,
Zeeland, Utrecht en Overyssel.

A. Schouman del. naer't Origin. van Mierevelt. J. Houbraken fec.

he now gave as gone) came ſo near his Heart, that he went ſick from the *Army* to the *Hague*, and never returned to it again,

Cruelty at *Amboina.*

While theſe things were in Motion, Truth that comes often with a leaden-foot, brought *News* out of the *Eaſt-Indies*, that the year 1622. gave Birth to a Miſchief of ſo horrid a *countenance* (for a private one) that no *Time* or *Age* could *Parallel*. The *Dutch* (while the *Engliſh*, their great *Supporters*, were fighting for them at their own doors) graſping at all the Treaſures, and Spices of the *Eaſtern* World, had not only wormed out the *Spaniards*, and *Portugals*, from many *Iſlands*, and *Colonies* there, but (unbounded with Covetouſnes and Ambition) ſtrove to hinder their Neighbours, and beſt friends the *Engliſh*, from that free Commerce with the *Natives* they ever enjoyed, ſo that many *Bickerings* hapned among them; till the *Controverſie* was taken up by publick Treaty, and *Stipulation*, agreed on betwixt Our King, and the *States* of the *Netherlands*, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and nineteen. And according to this agreement, the *Engliſh*, being as they thought ſecure, planted their *Factories* among them, where, after they had reaped the fruit of their great danger, and hazard, for ſome two years with much grumbling, and repining, the *Dutch* began to practiſe their utter Extirpation: Not by a *Maſſacre*, for that had been a *merciful Miſchief*, but by torture (to make their *Cruelty Juſtice*) in ſo horrid and ſavage a manner, as if they had ſucked their *Rage* from *Indian Tigers*.

The *Engliſh* accuſed of Treaſon.

Amboina was the bloody *Stage* where they acted this black *Tragedie*; and *Fire*, and *Water*, were their *Engins*; which are ever cruel *Maſters* when they get *Power*. For pretending the chief *Agent* Captain *Gabriel Towerſon*, and the reſt of the *Engliſh Factory*, had an intention by the aſſiſtance of ſome few poor *Japoneſes*, to poſſeſs themſelves of the Caſtle, and expel the *Dutch* out of the *Iſland*, they ſeized upon them, and ſet their bloody *Engins* a work, having no other *Accuſers* but them. The racks extending their Sinews, drew them out at length, and the waters which they ſubtilly forced into their Mouths, by their own reſpiration, and breathing, ſwelled all their *Bodies* to a huge *Proportion*, making their very eyes ready to bolt out of their *Heads*; and ſuch whoſe ſturdy innocence would not be compelled to accuſe themſelves, they burned the ſoles of their feet with candles, till the moiſture which dropt from them extinguiſhed the flame, and with thoſe burning inſtruments made ſuch holes in their ſides, that they might ſee their entrails, yet would not ſee their innocence. So *exquiſite* were they in their *Devilliſh Cruelty*, as will be gaſtly to expreſs, what was it then to ſuffer! Thus having tired the poor

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Men with *Tortures*, and they being willing to die quickly, confeſt whatſoever their cruel Tormentors would have them ſay. The *Dutch* having in this *furnace* wrought them to accuſe themſelves, with their peſtilent *formality*, got their *Confeſſions* under their hands, and ſo concluded their *Barbariſm*, with cutting off ſome of their heads.

The improbability of the Attempt by the Engliſh.

There were not twenty *Engliſhmen*, nor above thirty *Japoneſes* in the whole *Iſland*, with whom they were ſaid to *machinate* this *Conſpiracy*, and the *Caſtle* had in it two hundred *Dutch Souldiers*, and eight *Ships* riding before it well manned, whereof two of them were above twelve hundred tuns a peece; Beſides, the *Dutch* had two other *Caſtles* in the ſame *Iſland*; and what *Probability* could there be (if the Plot were as plain as their *Malicious* tongues could make it) that ſo weak a force ſhould attempt upon ſo many, having Men enough in the *Ships* and *Caſtles*, to have devoured the *Attempters*? And if they had effected their work, what would the end have been, but ruin to their *Eſtates*, and everlaſting *Infamy* to their *Memories*? knowing the *Dutch* 1619 were by the laſt agreements to have that *Caſtle*, confirmed by the King, who hated *Treaſon* in any Man, with his very Soul. Whereas the Men were of well-known, upright converſation, loathing ſuch baſeneſs, and every man of them with *Chriſtian impreſſions*, ſealed the laſt *Gaſp* of his life with a *Proteſtation* of his *Innocency*.

Ten of the *Engliſh* loſt their lives, whereof Captain *Towerſon* was one; the reſt with racked, burnt, and *Macerated Bodies* were ſent out of the *Iſland* to other *Engliſh Plantations*, and ſo the whole *Factory* was deſtroyed: The *Dutch* ſeizing into their hands greedily (which they only *gaped* after) the whole Trade, which they have everſince injoyed. And to put a fairer *Gloſs* upon this mad miſchief, nine *Japoneſes*, and one *Portugal*, that they would needs have to be Complotters with the *Engliſh*, were racked (poor men) to the ſame *Confeſſion*, and then executed; there being more *Horror* in the *examination* of the fault, than in the *Puniſhment* of it.

This *Cruelty* had made an incurable wound betwixt the two *Nations* (the noiſe of it giving *Animoſity* enough) but that it was new skin'd over, the bloody *Garment* taken off by *Dutch Apologies*, and preſented at the *Court* with a *face* of *Juſtice*. For nothing muſt come thither but in ſuch attire, as the great *Ones* about the *King* will pleaſe to put upon it; who might be wrought to any temper by that *Forge* that could frame ſuch flagitious *Actions*: for they that had *Barbariſm* enough to perpetrate the one, had *Baſeneſs* enough to practice the other. But leaving their *Conſciences* beſmeared with this *Gore*, which they cannot wipe off, but may ſtick to them yet, *Proceed* to the *Story*.

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All this while count *Mansfeldt* wanted imployment, and having prepared his way both in *France* and *England*, for gathering an *Army*, he ſhipt himſelf in *Zealand*, in the *Speedwel* (a ſhip of *Our King*'s, commanded by Sir *John Chidley*) that was ſent expreſly for his tranſport, which in going out, run upon the *Sands*, and was with the violence of foul weather, ſplit in pieces: *Mansfeldt*, and ſome of his followers, with difficulty eſcaping in her long *Boat*, got aboard a *Pink* that brought him into *England*; the Captain and the reſt of the company attending the *Ships fate*, were ſwallowed up in the Sea.

Mansfeldt goes into *England*.

While *Mansfeldt* remained in *England*, after ſome few nights he was lodged at Saint *James*'s the *Prince* s houſe, ſerved and attended in great *State*, by ſome of the *King*'s Officers, and feaſted by divers of the *Nobility* with much *magnificence*; In which time a *Preſs* went through the Kingdom, for raiſing twelve thouſand foot, which with ſome *Cavalry* that *Mansfeldt* expected in *Germany*, and *France*, would make up the *Body* of a conſiderable *Army*. *Mansfeldt*'s deſign was to go into *Germany*, through *France*, and he had fair *Promiſes* from thence, not only of admiſſion to paſs through the *Country*, but aſſiſtance from it. Theſe 12000 were digeſted into *Six Regiments*. The *Collonels* were the *Earl* of *Lincoln*, The *Lord Doncaſter* eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Carlile*, The *Lord Cromwel*, Sir *Charles Rich*, Sir *John Burrows* late Governour of *Frankendale*, and *Collonel Grey* a *Scotchman*, that had been an old *German Commander*, one that affected *Buff* in the time of Peace, and wore it in the face of the *Court*; which the King ſeeing him in, and a caſe of Piſtols at his girdle (which he never well liked of) he told him merrily, *He was now ſo fortified, that if he were but well victualled, he would be impregnable.* Two Troops of Horſe were alſo raiſed for this ſervice, the *Earl* of *Lincoln* had the command of the one, and one *Gunter*, an ordinary *Horſe-Rider*, was thought the fitteſt man to command the other; as if none could command Horſe, but ſuch as could make them curvet in a *Riding-Houſe*. And the Ignorance of theſe times ſhews, that unpractical *Reaſon* cannot put forth it ſelf to the height, being bound up for want of Exerciſe; for we ſet a Valuation and eſteem upon *German* and *French Horſe*, when (like them) we knew not our own ſtrength, for there are not in the *World* a more gallant *Cavalry*, both for the *Activity* of the *Riders*, and *Ability* of the *Horſes*, than may be formed in *England*, as experience hath lately demonſtrated.

Forces raiſed for him.

Theſe being already in *Kent* for Tranſport about the beginning of *February*, and *Shipping* provided, the *French* began to falter in their *Promiſes*, (notwithſtanding *Our* intimate *Correſpondence* by the *Treaty* of *Marriage* agreed on) pleading many in-

The deſign ruined.

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conveniencies, in the paſſing of an *Army* through the Country, and the more, becauſe *Our Men* were ſo unruly in *Kent* (where ſome of them were tryed by *Marſhal-Law*) what would they be then in a ſtrange Country? Theſe being but demurs, not denials, the whole *Army* is *Shipped*, and put over to *Callais*, to wait the *French* leiſure; but the charge of Shipping (being above a hundred Sail that attended that ſervice) required more ſpeed, than their faint and ſickly *Promiſes* did expedite: for the *French* dallying with them, and delaying them, happily upon *Deſign* (the *Queen* of *France* being then more affected to the *Spaniſh*, and a leſs enemy to her blood and kindred, than they have found her ſince) after a long ſtay, *Mansfeldt* was forced to leave the *hopes* of his *French Horſe*, and ſail with his *Army* into *Zealand*. There the *Soldiers* lay at the *Ramkins* a long time in their *Ships*, not ſuffered to land: for the *States* not dreaming of ſuch a *Body* of men, could not determine ſuddenly what to do with them; beſides, the Inland waters being frozen, *Proviſions* would grow ſhort for their own *Army*, much more for them. After ſome ſtay in *Zealand*, they ſailed up to *Guertenberg* in *Brabant*, which Town being not well provided with *Victuals*, they were not ſuffered to land, but continuing on Shipboard, the *Ships* ſtuffed and peſtred with men, wanting *Meat*, and all manner of *Neceſſaries*, ſuch a *Stench* and *Peſtilence* grew among them, that they were thrown into the Sea by multitudes, ſo that many hundreds (if I may not ſay thouſands) beaten upon Shores, had their bowels eaten out with *Dogs* and *Swine*, to the *Horror* of the *Beholders*. Thoſe bodies that drive up near thoſe Towns where the *Engliſh* were, had great pits made for them, wherein (being thrown by heaps) they were cover'd with earth, but upon thoſe ſhores where they were neglected, (as they were in many parts of *Holland*) a great *Contagion* followed. And of *Mansfeldt*'s twelve thouſand men, ſcarce the moity landed.

The death of the Earl of *Southampton* and his ſon.

This Winter *Quarter* at *Roſendale*, was alſo *fatal* to the *Earl* of *Southampton*, and the *Lord Wriothsley* his Son. Being both ſick there together, of burning *Feavers*, the violence of which diſtemper wrought moſt vigorouſly upon the heat of youth, overcoming the Son firſt, and the *drooping* Father having overcome the feaver, departed from *Roſendale* with an intention to bring his Son's body into *England*, but at *Berghen up Zome* he dyed of a *Lethargy* in the view and preſence of the *Relator*, and were both in one ſmall bark brought to *Southampton*.

And now *Our King* found by dear experience, that the *favours* he had done the King of *Spain* (in protecting his *Subjects* and *Seas* from being infeſted and ruined by *Turkiſh Pirates*, furniſhing his *Arſenals*, and giving way to the *Lord Vaux*, and Sir *Edward*


FITCHFEILDIÆ. ETC
PRÆNOBIL: Dº HENRI
SOUTHAMPTON: BA
WRIOTHESLEY COME
Right Honourable and most noble HENRY
Wriothsley Earle of Southampton Baron of
Titchfeild, Knight of the most nob: Ord: of ye Garter.




Cum privilegio

An. Reg. 20.

An. Chriſti. 1624.

Edward Parham, to tranſport ſo many *Engliſh* into *Flanders*) tended much to his prejudice. For his *Subjects* in a ſtrange *Country* by this means fought one againſt another, which was a kind of an *Un-civil War*; nor was it their voluntary Intention, for the *Engliſh* that were ſhipped for *Flanders*, were tempted over by *Popiſh* Allurements, not knowing but that they were to go into *Holland*, which made them run away as they got opportunity. But *Our King* did not live to ſee how his *Forces* in the *Low-Countreys* dwindled to nothing. And the *Reſult* of all is, that though he were a wiſe *Prince*, yet *Bleſſings* did neither attend his *Counſels* nor *Actions*: So that it is not *humane Wiſdom*, but *Divine Directions*, that orders and diſpoſes all things to a good end.

The death of the *Marqueſs Hamilton*.

The *Marqueſs Hamilton* died before *Our King*; ſuſpected to be poiſoned; the *Symptoms* being very *preſumptuous*, his head and body ſwelling to an exceſſive greatneſs, the body being all over full of great bliſters, with variety of Colours; the hair of his Head, Eye-brows, and Beard, came off being touched, and brought the *Skin* with them; and there was a great *Clamor* of it about the *Court*, ſo that *Doctors* were ſent to view the *Body*, but the matter was hudled up, and little ſpoken of it, only *Doctor Egliſham* a *Scotch-man*, was ſomething bitter againſt the *Duke*, as if he had been the *Author* of it. The *Marqueſſes* Son had a little before married the Earl of *Denbigh*'s Daughter, who was the *Duke* of *Buckingham*'s Neece, and yet this *Tie* could not oblige a friendſhip betwixt them, becauſe thee *Marqueſs* was averſe to the *Marriage*. This *Diſtance*, and other *Diſcontents*, occaſioned ſome *tumorous Diſcourſes*, which reflected much upon the *Duke*, but they never broke out in this *King*'s time, being bound up cloſe (as it was thought) more by the *Duke*'s *Power* than his *Innocency*.

The death of the *King*.

And not long after him, whether our *King*'s care for his *Grand-children*, or the hazard and danger of his own *Perſon* at home (being ever full of fears) or his ingagement in a War abroad, (being contrary to his very *Nature*) or whether his full feeding and continual uſe of ſweet Wines, (which he abundantly affected) ſet the groſs Humors a work, or what other *Accident* cauſed his *Diſtemper* is uncertain; but he fell ſick of a *Tertian Ague*, which is not dangerous in the *Spring* (if we believe the *Proverb*) and had ſome few fits of it. After which he fell into a Feaver, which was too violent for him. A little before his *Death*, he called for the *Prince* his Son, who riſing out of his bed, ſomething before day, and preſenting himſelf before him, the *King* rowſed up his *Spirits*, and raiſed himſelf up as if he meant to ſpeak to him, but *Nature* being exhauſted, he had not *Strength* to expreſs his Intentions, but ſoon after expired, Being upon *Sunday* morning, the 27. of *March* 1625. at *Theobalds*, in

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in the nine and fiftieth year of his *Age*, and the two and twentieth year compleat of his *Reign*. And was buried at *Westminster*, with great *Solemnity* the 7. of *May* following.

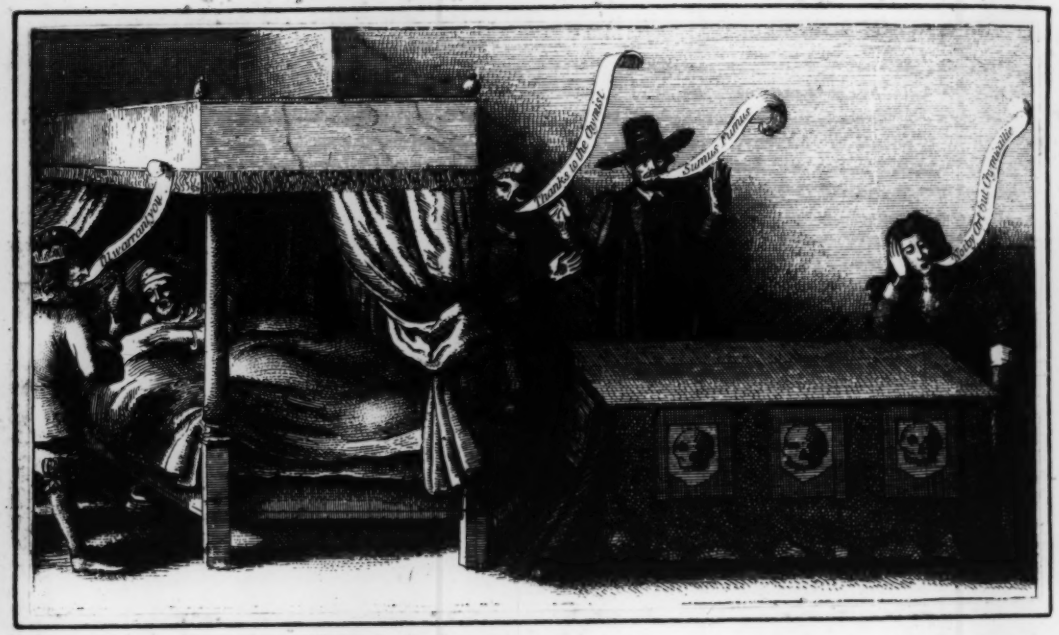
The Death of *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* 23. *Apr.* 1625.

Not long after our King's *Death* (as if the *Time*, and *Season*, as well as the *Disease*, were *Epidemical* to *Princes*) old *Maurice* the *Prince* of *Orange* died; And his *Brother Prince Henry* (being made *General* of the *States Army*) put his *Fortune* into an unhappy *Ballance*, which lost much of the Weight. For either valuing his *Soldiers* lives less than his *Brother*, or the loss of so brave a *Town* as *Breda* more, or thinking to spring up with more *Glory* (*Phœnix*-like) from the ashes of his *Brothers funerals* (being recruited with the *Relicks* of *Mansfelds Army*) he set upon one of *Spinola's* strong Works, at *Terheiden*, either to relieve the Town, or beat the *Enemy* out of his *Trenches*; but he failed in both, and lost many gallant Men (especially *English*) in the Enterprise. The Earl of *Oxford* having the leading of the *Van* (being a man *Corpulent*, and heavy) got such a sweltring heat in the service, that though he came off without hurt from the enemy, yet he brought *Death* along with him; for he fell sick presently after, went to the *Hague* and there dyed. The other two gallant *Collonels*, *Essex*, and *Willoughby*, survived to command two *English Armies* in a *Civil-War*; *Essex* being *General* for the *Paliament*, and *Willoughby* for the *King*, in *Kinton-field* in *Warwick-shire*; where *Essex* remained *Victor*, the *King* being there in *Person*, and leaving him the *Honour* of the *Field*, his *General Willoughby*, then *Earl* of *Lindsey*, being slain in the *Battel*. But there will be a long Tract of *Time*, and *Discourse*, before these *Armies* incounter, being the first *Cloud* of that fiery *exhalation*, which broke out in the next *King's* Reign, and could not be quenched without the *blood* of many thousands of the *Nation*.

The death of the Earl of *Oxford*.

The different Carriage of two Princes of *Orange*.

But the different *Carriage* of these two *Sons* of *Mars*, the two *Brothers*, *Maurice*, and *Henry*, is very observable; Which shall be left to the judgment of the great *Masters* in the *Art* of *War*, whether *Error* were the greater (so apt is the under World to spie out great Mens *Errors*) *Maurice*, that had a *Powerful Army* of the *States*, and was reinforced with six thousand *English*, gallant, and resolute men, that would have hugg'd a daring *Enterprise*, yet durst not incounter *Spinola*, when he lay open to his assault, but let him work himself into his *Fastness*, and rather bear the burthen in his own *breast* than disturb him. Or *Henry*, when *Spinola's* Works were in full strength, confirmed by time and settled *Order*, the opposite to the confused end he aimed at, to throw so brave part of his *Army* upon eminent destruction? Or is there not a time and *Period* prefixt to earthly things, and the *all-disposing Power* to that *End*, doth either infatuate or establish *Counsels*? This Town and


Thanks to the Queen!
Sumus Puncti
Murrain on you

and old *Prince Maurice*, as may be said, were lost together.

But *Our King* that was very much impatient in his *Health*, was patient in his *Sickness*, and *Death*. Whether he had received any thing that extorted his *Aguish Fits* into a *Feaver*, which might the sooner stupifie the *Spirits*, and hasten his end, cannot be asserted; but the *Countess* of *Buckingham* (who trafficked much with *Mountebanks*, and whose *Fame* had no great *savour*) had been tampering with him, in the absence of the *Doctors*, and had given him a *Medicine* to drink, and laid a *Plaster* to his side, which the King much complained of, and they did rather exasperate his *Distemper* than allay it: and these things were admitted by the insinuating persuasions of the *Duke* her Son, who told the King they were approved Medicines, and would do him much good. And though the *Duke* after strove to purge himself for this *Application*, as having received both *Medicine* and *Plaster*, from *Doctor Remington*, at *Dunmow* in *Essex*, who had often cured *Agues*, and such *Distempers* with the same; yet they were *Arguments* of a complicated kind, not easie to unfold; considering that whatsoever he received from the *Doctor* in the *Countrey*, he might apply to the King what he pleased in the *Court*; besides the *Act* it self (though it had been the best *Medicine* in the World) was a *Daring* not *justifiable*, and some of the *King*'s *Physicians* mutter'd against it, others made a great noise, and were forced to fly for it; and though the still voice was quickly silenced by the *Duke*'s power, yet the *Clamorous* made so deep impressions that his *Innocence* could never wear them out. And one of *Buckingham*'s great provocations was thought to be his fear, that the King being now weary of his too much greatness, and power, would set up *Bristol* his deadly enemy against him, to pull him down. And this *Medicine* was one of those 13 *Articles* that after were laid to his *Charge* in *Parliament*, who may be misinformed, but seldom accuse any upon false *Rumor*, or bare *Suggestion*; and therefore it will be a hard task for any man to excuse the King his *Successor*, for dissolving that *Parliament*, to preserve one that was accused by them for poisoning his *Father*.

The King patient in sickness.

For *Doctor Lamb*, a man of an infamous conversation (having been arraigned for a Witch, and found guilty of it at *Worcester*, and arraigned for a *Rape*, and found guilty of it at the *Kings-Bench-Bar*, at *Westminster*, yet escaped the stroak of *Justice* for both, by his favour in *Court*) was much imployed by the Mother, and the Son, which generally the people took notice of, and were so incensed against *Lamb*, that finding him in the *Streets* in *London* in the year 1628. they rose against him, and with stones and staves knockt out his *Brains*, as may be more particularly related in its due time.

Lamb a Witch.

And besides *Lamb*, there was one *Butler* an *Irishman* (which vaun-

Butler a Mountebank.

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vaunted himself to be of the house of *Ormond*) who was a kind of *Montebank*, which the *Duke* and his *Mother* much confided in. This *Butler* was first an *Apprentice* to a *Cutler* in *London*, and before his time expired quitted his *Master*, having a running head, and went to the *Barmudoes*, where he lived some time, as a Servant in the *Island*, and walking by the Sea-side with another of his Companions, they found a great *Mass* of *Ambergreece*, that the Seas bounty had cast up to them, which they willingly concealed, meaning to make their best Markets of it. *Butler* being a subtle *Snap*, wrought so with his *Companion*, with promises of a share, that he got the possession of it, and in the next *Dutch* ship that arrived at the *Barmudoes*, he shipt himself and his *Commodities* for *Amsterdam*, where having sold his *Bargain* at a good *Rate*, and made his credit with his fellow Venturer cheap enough, ingrossing all to himself, he came into *England*, lived in a gallant, and noble *Equipage*, kept a great and free *Table*, at his lodgings in the *Strand*, which were furnished suitable to his *Mind*, and had his *Coach* with six *Horses*, and many footmen attending on him, with as much *State*, and *Grandure*, as if his *Greatness* had been real: But though his means lasted not to support this long, yet it brought him into great acquaintance, and being *Pragmatical* in tongue, and having an active pate, he fell to some *Distillations*, and other odd extracting practises, which kept him a float, and some men thought he had gotten the (long-dreamed-after) *Philosopher's Stone*; but the best *Recipe* which he had, to maintain his *Greatness* after his *Amber* money fumed and vapoured away, was suspected to come from his friends at *White-Hall*; And the *Story* of his *Death* (if it be true) is one great *Evidence* of some secret *Machination*, betwixt the *Duke* and him, that the *Duke* was willing to be rid of him, *For* Mischief, *being an ingrosser, is* Unsecure, *and* Unsatisfyed, *When their Wares are to be vented in many* Shops. Therefore he was recommended upon some plausible occasion by the *Duke's* means (as fame delivered it) to some *Jesuits* beyond the *Seas*; where he was entertained with a great deal of *specious Ceremony*, and *Respect*, in one of their *Colledges*, or *Cloisters*; and at *Night* they attending him to his *Chamber* with much Civility, the *Chamber* being hanged with *Tapestry*, and *Tapers* burning in stretcht-out *Arms* upon the Walls, and when they gave him the *Goodnight*, they told him they would send one should direct him to his lodging, and they were no sooner out of this *Room* of Death, But the floar that hung upon great *hinges* on one side, was let fall by *Artificial Engins*, and the poor *Vermin Butler*, dropt into a *Precipice*, where he was never more heard of. That there are such secret *Inquisition-Conveyances*, of a horrid Nature, is obvious, and such close contrivances may fly up and down upon the wings

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Wings of *Rumor*, but it is impoſſible to find out the bottom of ſuch black *Pitfals*, but with as much danger as thoſe that find the bitter effects of them. And this was reported to be the end of *Butler*.

The Deſcription of King *James*.

But to conclude with Our King, whom this do concern. He was born a King, and from that heighth, the leſs fitted to look into inferiour things; yet few eſcaped his Knowledge, being, as it were a *Magazine* to retain them. His *Stature* was of the *Middle Size*; rather tall than low, well ſet and ſomewhat plump, of a ruddy Complexion, his hair of a light brown, in his full perfection, had at laſt a Tincture of white. If he had any predominant *Humour* to ballance his *Choler*, it was ſanguine, which made his *Mirth Witty*. His Beard was ſcattering on his Chin, and very thin; and though his Clothes were ſeldom faſhioned to the *Vulgar* garb, yet in the whole man he was not uncomely. He was a King in underſtanding, and was content to have his Subjects ignorant in many things. As in curing the *Kings-Evil*, which he knew a *Device*, to aggrandize the *Virtue* of Kings, when *Miracles* were in faſhion; but he let the World believe it, though he ſmiled at it, in his own *Reaſon*, finding the ſtrength of the *Imagination* a more powerful *Agent* in the *Cure*, than the *Plaſters* his *Chirurgions* preſcribed for the *Sore*. It was a hard *Quæſtion*, whether his Wiſdom, and knowledge, exceeded his *Choler*, and *Fear*; certainly the laſt couple drew him with moſt violence, becauſe they were not acquiſititious, but *Natural*; If he had not had that *Allay*, his high touring, and maſtering *Reaſon*, had been of a *Rare*, and ſublimed *Excellency*; but theſe earthy *Dregs* kept it down, making his *Paſſions* extend him as far as *Prophaneſs*, that I may not ſay *Blaſphemy*, and *Policy* ſuperintendent of all his *Actions*; which will not laſt long (like the *violence* of that *Humour*) for it often makes thoſe that know well, to do ill, and not be able to prevent it.

He had pure *Notions* in *Conception*, but could bring few of them into Action, though they tended to his own *Preſervation*: For this was one of his *Apothegms*, which he made no timely uſe of. *Let that Prince, that would beware of Conſpiracies, be rather jealous of ſuch, whom his extraordinary favours have advanced, than of thoſe whom his diſpleaſure hath diſcontented. Theſe want means to execute their Pleaſures, but they have means at pleaſure to execute their deſires*, Ambition to rule is more vehement than Malice to revenge. Though the laſt part of this *Aphoriſm*, he was thought to practice too ſoon, where there was no cauſe for prevention, and neglect too late, when time was full ripe to produce the effect.

Some *Parallel'd* him to *Tiberius* for *Diſſimulation*, yet Peace was maintained by him as in the Time of *Auguſtus*; And Peace be-

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got *Plenty*, and *Plenty* begot *Eaſe* and *Wantonneſs*, and *Eaſe* and *Wantonneſs* begot *Poetry*, and *Poetry* ſwelled to that *bulk* in his time, that it begot ſtrange *Monſtrous Satyrs*, againſt the King's own perſon, that haunted both *Court*, and *Country*, which expreſt, would be too bitter to leave a ſweet perfume behind him. And though bitter ingredients are good to imbalm and preſerve dead *Bodies*, yet theſe were ſuch as might indanger to kill a living name, If *Malice* be not brought in with an *Antidote*. And the tongues of thoſe times more fluent than my *Pen*, made every little *miſcarriage* (being not able to diſcover their true Operations, like ſmall ſeeds hid in earthy *Darkneſs*) grow up, and ſpread into ſuch exuberant *branches*, that evil *Report* did often pearch upon them. So dangerous it is for *Princes*, by a *Remiſs Comportment*, to give growth to the leaſt *Error*; for it often proves as *fruitful* as *Malice* can make it.

But alas good King! here was an end of his earthly *Empire*, and little did he imagine that the laſt *Period* to great *Britain's Monarchy* ſhould not much exceed the time of his own *Reign*, and in the true extent come ſhort of it.

Soli Deo Gloria.

The

THE CONCLUSION
To the discreet Reader.

HAving now finished (I will not say perfected) my little Work of this great King, without prejudice to his Person, or Envy to his Dignity, not having (for filthy lucre sake) any Man in Admiration, and willing to be less than the least in the Times flatuous opinion: I hope to free my self from that Rigid, censorious Humour, that foams in the mouths of such whom the Venom of Passion hath corrupted, that I may clear the way the better over the Precipices, and prodigious Passages, that will be found in the next King's reign, which to attempt is a Daring inexpressible. For History seldom follows Truth so near the Heels, where a various, and mixed multitude, may either pretend to, or really know more, than one man can well Relate; and where affection or dislike, to particular men, would willingly cover, or sordidly lay open, those Blemishes, which may besmear, if not quite deface the living Character yet imprinted in their memories. For though they that write near the Times, are said to write partially, either for Fear, or Friendship; yet they that write Truth, must either do it from private Knowledge or publick Report; and who can know better than they that live near the Times? according to the French Proverb; Ce qu'on voit, est plus certain, que ce qu'on oit; and as Horat. saith, Oculis potius credendum quàm auribus. The waters are the purest at the Fountain; they mingle, and gather dross, by running through divers troubled Chanels. And as every thing in a clear Spring will be perspicuous, so the soil of Falshood or Mistake (if any be cast into it) will be the more visible. But some may retort the Argument, and say, In troubled fountains the Waters are not so pure as they will be when they are further from the Spring, that time may settle them, and then men will take up that which runs cleerest. But nimium altercando Veritas amittitur, Truth may be lost in a croud. And as all things are not to be spoken, so some things are not to be concealed; for it derogates from the glory of God to have his Justice obscured, his remarkable Dispensations smothered, as if We were angry with what the Divne Power hath done, who can debase the Spirits of Princes, and is mighty among the Kings of the earth. And though the Priests lips should keep knowledge, yet (as the *Prophet* saith) he can make them contemptible and base before all the people. And therefore why should we grudge and repine at God's Actions? for his thoughts are not as our thoughts, nor his wayes as our wayes. His Judgments should teach us Wisdom, and his glorious proceedings

ſhould learn us Righteouſneſs, *that his Anger may be turned away from us. And let them that ſtand take heed leſt they fall. For though God rewarded* Jehu *with the* Kingdom, *for the good ſervice he did him, yet becauſe he walked not with him,* God viſited *the houſe of* Jehu, *and laid the blood of* Jezreel, *which he was commanded to ſhed, upon the head of his* Poſterity. *But all the* Arguments *of* Men *and* Angels, *will neither penetrate, nor make impreſſion, in ſome ill-compoſed* Tempers, *till they are ſoftned with the* fire *of* Love; *and that holy* Flame *is beſt kindled with* Patience, *by willingly ſubmitting to the al-diſpoſing* Providence *that* orders *every thing. Before whoſe* Altar (*waiting for the* Seaſon *of* Grace) *I will ever bring the beſt* fruits *of my* Labours. *But if that which I intend ſhould not come to* Perfection (*the day of* man's *life being but as a* Dawning, *and his time as a* Span) *I will never be diſpleaſed with my* Maſter (*in long and dangerous* Labours) *for calling me away to reſt, before my work is done.*

FINIS.

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21817.

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